Companionate Marriage Reconsidered *Doris Grumbach*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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A Journal of Politics and the Arts — November 20, 1971, 50 cents

Bus Stop At the House

Sitting in a remarkably well-attended night session, the House on November 5 voted con brio *against busing public school children, for which it was congratulated by President Nixon. The legislators thereby demonstrated their responsiveness to the wishes of great majorities of their constituents. To be sure, many consolidated school districts covering large suburban or rural areas bus and always have, and nobody minds much. The busing that is unpopular is the transportation of black inner-city children to outlying, formerly all-white schools, and of white children from the outlying schools into the inner city. In obedience to court order, there has been more and more busing of this sort in the South during the last couple of years, and a great deal this year following the Supreme Court's decision last spring which sanctioned it. The Supreme Court did not require busing, but it left few alternative means open for achieving what it did require, namely maximum possible racial balance in the schools of districts that were once segregated by law. Busing of this unpopular variety has*

(Continued on page 7)

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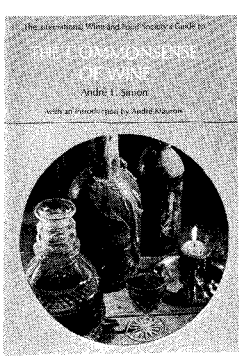

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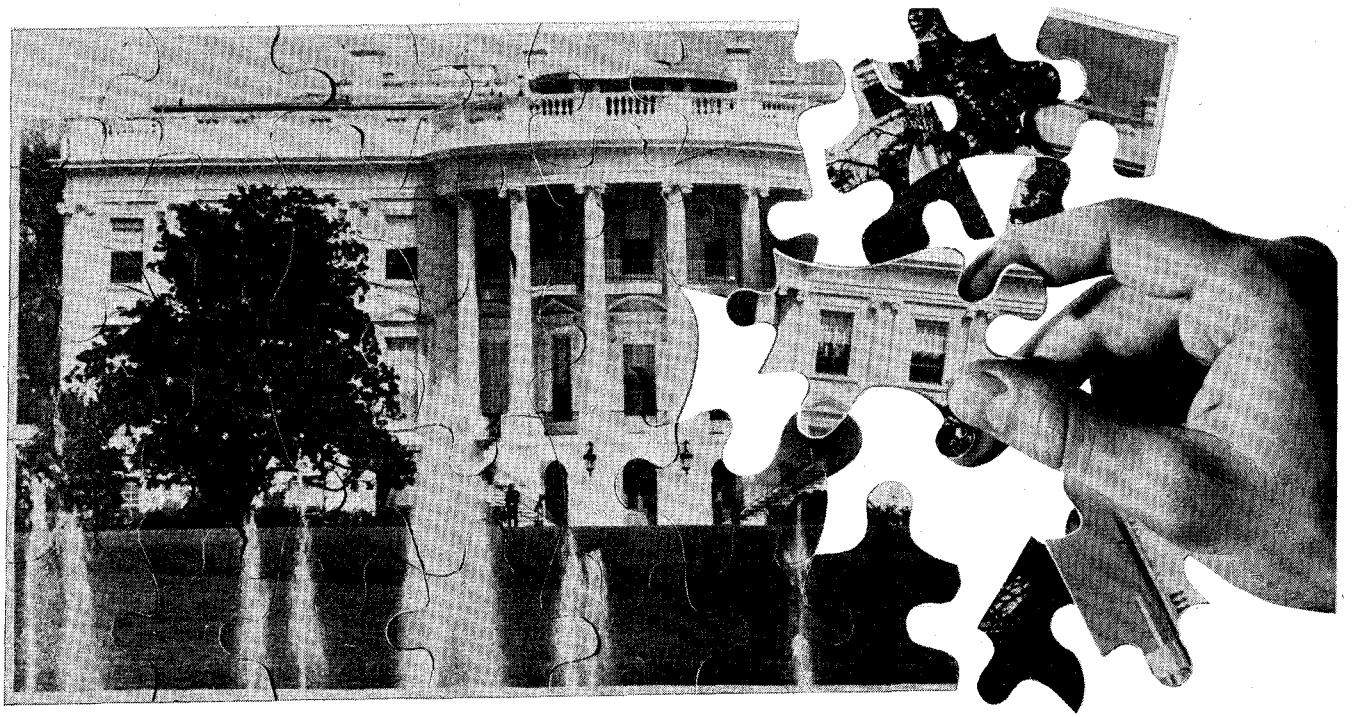

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Nine Oracles

As the minutes ticked by with a hideous, immeasurable five-megaton monster buried a mile deep on the earthquake line in the foggy Aleutians that might or might not blow up the world, what did frightened Americans do? Why they did what every Greek would have understood 2500 years ago in the time of Herodotus, they hurried to consult the oracle, the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, make no doubt of it, has an awesome, mystical, religious value, very handy in commanding respect in a humdrum government in a materialistic age. No other modern nation has anything quite like it; they have a king or queen in some countries or a ceremonial president who stands above and behind the premier, but we consult the Court. Nothing new in that! Should Themistocles abandon Athens to Xerxes or should he fight the naval battle of Salamis? – nobody knew, so he sent messengers hot-foot off to Delphi which handed down its judgment and which nobody could understand, partly because it was written in hexameter verse and partly because it was as skillfully vague as a pollster's prediction before a close presidential election.

So what do we do in Washington when the executive can't, and the legislature won't, intervene? Like Lacedaemonians we go to our Greek temple, and ask the seven wise men (two seats are empty). They don their holy black robes and the votaries make their pleas. You can browbeat an oracle or at least try to: the executive in this case almost jumped up and down contending that they must have a "go" signal by 12:30, or abandon the awesome blast.

The seers go into the holy of holies to consult the Mystery – America's Bible, Talmud and Koran – the Constitution revealed two centuries ago, the original of which is piously preserved in an inert gas, hermetically sealed, in its own temple.

Search the ancient instrument as they could the Seven found nothing in it about nuclear blasts and Amchitka was not even mentioned. They came out, looking more profound and mysterious than ever, as augurs have since sacerdotal rites began. They reported 4 to 3, that they couldn't get an exact fix from the Founding Fathers but that, anyway, a majority felt they shouldn't hold up the show. It was put in nice legal lingo, not hexameters.

Talk about this institution as a simple court! – it is vastly more than that. It is one of the most potent mystical adjuncts of our government, by which the common man is kept in line, very handy in a democracy, by which he is sometimes willing to suspend his judgment when common sense points another way and by which, on rare occasions, he is persuaded to enter strange new paths of progress when they are opened by men like Earl Warren and his group.

So that is why the replacement of members is so important. Mr. Nixon covered the country in 1968 attacking the Court while it was a liberal body but now that he has, in practical terms, switched it to a conservative body he urges respect and observes sorrowfully, "I have noted with distress a growing tendency in the country to criticize the Court as an institution." Well, dear dear! This from the man who said the Court had abandoned the "peace forces as against the criminal forces."

To this Court Mr. Nixon has nominated a respectable Virginia conservative, Lewis Powell, who will surely be confirmed, and join conservatives Burger and Blackmun, and a younger Goldwater conservative, William Rehnquist, whose views are such that they can only be termed astonishing. Only seven years ago he carried out what amounts to a one-man crusade in Phoenix, Arizona, against a public accommodations law requiring drug stores to serve Negroes, and he did it on the basis of the holy rights of private property. When the city council voted against his volunteer effort unanimously, Rehnquist, who is an activist zealot, volunteered a letter to the local newspaper charging that the "ordinance summarily does away with the historic right of the owner of a drug store, lunch counter or theater to choose his customers." He pleaded that the "freedom of the property owner" should not "be sacrificed to give these minorities a chance to have access to integrated eating places. . . ." The rights of property, under the Rehnquist philosophy, would come before the rights of Jews, Irish, Blacks, Italians or what have you. It is breath-taking. He told the Senate Judiciary Committee that he has changed these views. Why? – because he has found that segregation doesn't work, and "because I have come to realize since, more than I did at the time" that minorities really care about equality. Right down to 1964, Rehnquist hadn't realized they cared.

"The white people of this country don't realize that a man who kicks Negroes in the teeth is not suitable for the Supreme Court," said NAACP spokesman Clarence Mitchell, and Joe Rauh of ADA, after reviewing Rehnquist's overall record, called him "the most reactionary appointee to the Supreme Court in the twentieth century."

Rehnquist doesn't just nourish his prejudices in private: he writes letters to editors about them; he is an activist. When *The Washington Post* attacked Carswell's nomination he volunteered a letter with the strange juxtaposition that broadening of civil rights would bring "further expansion of the constitutional rights of criminal defendants, of pornographers and of demonstrators."

The Supreme Court will have staggering questions to answer in the next generation. We talk about busing, for example, but that is just the outward symbol; the problem is a nation divided between black slums and leafy suburbs, with busing a desperate last-minute expedient to bring them together. If busing fails the problem of "one nation, divided" remains. And already there is a new legal attack on it; the new code word will be "zoning."

Factories are emigrating from the inner slums to the suburbs but there they find that restrictive zoning against garden apartments and row houses segregates families with low and moderate incomes. Ford quits Newark and buys 200 acres for a factory at Mahwah, New Jersey, but the 4200 Ford workers learn that they can't live there unless they purchase homes with an acre or so of land: the ordinances are tight and fierce. It is economic segregation; not by race but by class. Sooner or later (you can count on it) this zoning issue will come to the Supreme Court. And what kind of oracles are we putting in the Holy Temple?

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Bus Stop At the House

also begun to be required in the north and west by federal courts which have found the line between southern-style *de jure* segregation and urban-style *de facto* racial isolation to be quite blurred. So far, the Supreme Court has declined to involve itself in the *de facto*, residential situation, simply refusing to review lower court cases that have dealt with it. Lower courts, however, ordered busing in Pontiac, Michigan and in San Francisco this year, and in Pasadena, California the year before. Most, if not all urban districts are vulnerable to decisions such as these – unless the Supreme Court, or perhaps Congress, should seize itself of the problem and arrest the present trend of lower court adjudication. The Supreme Court has not lacked opportunity, but there is no indication that it means to intervene, which explains the large number of northern congressmen who, to the glee of their southern colleagues, voted against busing.

What the House actually did – and it must be approved in the Senate before it can take effect – is in some parts futile and in all parts unwise. It stampeded. It tried to forbid the use of federal funds for busing, thereby inviting accounting subterfuges and similar evasions by school districts which are under court order to bus, and which will naturally exercise ingenuity in shifting their own and federal funds around so that they can both abide by the court decrees and lose no federal money. The HEW bureaucracy, which makes the federal grants, is likely to sympathize with them. A school district that fails to find an adequate subterfuge will be put in the perversely unfair position of being denied federal dollars because it is obeying federal law. The House also provided that lower court decrees in school cases not be put into effect until all opportunities for appeal have been exhausted. This runs counter to a decision of the Supreme Court a couple of years ago requiring the precise opposite: that decrees of lower courts be honored while appeals are pending. It may be that Congress has power to make this change in the judicial handling of school cases, since the change may be viewed as procedural. But the change would be deplorable. The opportunities for delay that are opened up would be considerable – always amounting to crucial months and thus often to at least one and sometimes more than one

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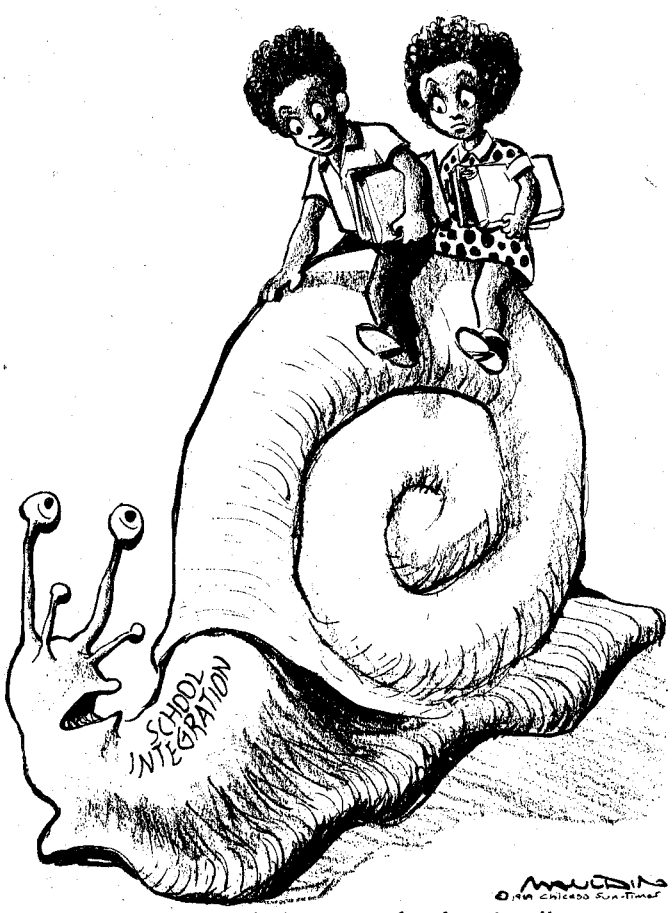
school year. These opportunities would be available not only in cases involving massive busing, but also with respect to more elemental decisions seeking, 16 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, to enforce the mandate of that case.

The gross and sloppy way in which the House expressed its displeasure with busing is regrettable; so was Mr. Nixon's premature expression of appreciation. (The White House had not even examined the House amendments). Nevertheless busing is a problem. When it is long distance and is imposed on elementary school as well as older children, it carries real costs, and they are not only financial. The view that its adverse effects on the education and well-being of the children, black and white, are greater than any possible educational or social benefits that may be derived from it, will in many instances be justified. In addition, there is a desire on the part of a great many parents, which cannot be brushed aside as racism, for a sense of community in the schools to which they send their children. Salient expressions of this desire came from San Francisco's Chinese this fall when a federal court busing order took their children from public schools which the Chinese had considered their own and dispersed them throughout the city. The same desire for closeness – not only geographic but communal – has found expression in the community control movement among blacks, particularly in New York and more recently in Detroit. Parents rightly feel that it is physically difficult, if not impossible, to maintain a connection with a school and make their needs and wishes felt in it, if the school is 15 miles away.



"Hang on, kids—we're decelerating."

Whether or not infected in some degree with the virus of racism, opposition to busing is at any rate deepseated and widespread, finding outlets beyond the political. The short of it is that numerous whites who can, leave the public school system when confronted with busing. A general flight outwards from the city has long been in progress, of course, and factors other than busing account for part of it. Yet it is striking that the Pasadena school district lost 12.4 percent of its white pupils in the first year of busing, and another 11.5 percent in the second. Berkeley, California, which adopted a busing plan voluntarily a few years back, has maintained relative stability of its school population. But even if not universal, the adverse effect of busing on the white school population is frequent. The poorest and least mobile of the whites are forced into busing, their resentment rising steadily as they watch the well-to-do leave, and many supposedly integrated schools soon return to a state of racial isolation.

Busing, then, is not only disruptive and fraught with costs that are not always offset by the benefits it brings, but often fails to achieve the benefit it promises. It is therefore foolhardy to concentrate on massive school integration, and the promise that busing can produce it, as the chief objective in public education. The time is fast approaching when the condition of legally induced school segregation with which the court dealt in *Brown v. Board of Education* will have been eliminated. At that point, as Charles Hamilton, a black political scientist, recently told the Senate Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, "...we should be concerned essentially with quality education, and not with the superficial bringing together of black and white students. The results we apparently want – a viable pluralistic society – are probably better achieved in the long run through other developments in the society."

The public schools are beset by two major problems. They do not educate as well as we would like, and more particularly, the results they achieve with their black and poor children are below the levels common in the higher socioeconomic classes. Most of us care less about how children get to school than what they have when they get there. That is one problem. Another is that black and poor children are often concentrated – some say isolated – in certain schools. Neither of these problems is susceptible to resolution by a single act of Congress or by court decrees or by any categorical national policy. Congress can, however, improve and equalize the results of primary and secondary education; encourage but not require the elimination of racial isolation in the schools; and minimize the educational bad effects of racial concentration in schools and communities where it persists.

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Where the Shoe Pinches

Several million workers, including many teachers and other public employees, lost some $1.5 billion in income because their wage increases, although contracted for months earlier, became effective on or after August 15. Other millions who received raises on August 14, or before, were allowed to keep their gains. Such was the arbitrary impact of Phase I of the President's stabilization program. But arbitrariness is expected in wage and price freezes which are by nature temporary. More reasonable and equitable standards are expected from a longer-term system of control, such as that which took hold November 14.

The expectation was blasted as the President's pay board and price commission went into action last week. In its first major decision the pay board reaffirmed past inequities by disallowing retroactive compensation for those whose previously contracted raises had been frozen, regardless of whether the increases were large, moderate, or small. The 10 business and public members outvoted the five labor representatives. It was a gratuitous challenge to the working population, unorganized as well as organized. Nor was the offsetting gain for economic stability in any sense commensurate: the $1.5 billion at stake represents about one-tenth of one percent of the gross national product. Furthermore, in its haste to stand firm against greedy workers, the board rejected the judicious advice of the House Banking and Currency Committee, advice that may yet be incorporated in legislation. The committee voted to permit retroactive compensation, except when the raises are grossly out of line with the board's general standards.

There is mounting evidence that the board's decision may prove more unsettling than stabilizing. AFL-CIO President George Meany growled that "legal collective bargaining agreements have been abrogated," a judgment echoed by Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers and by many in Congress, including the chairman of the Joint Economic Committee and the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Meany promised to take the case to his executive council and to the full convention of the AFL-CIO meeting this week in Miami. It will be charged that the stabilization program is intolerably biased. Employees are asked to hold the line, in behalf of the public welfare, but no controls are exercised on interest, dividends or profits. Though prices are nominally under control, the provisions for enforcement are palpably inadequate to police the millions of sellers of goods and services around the country. Under the monitoring system announced by the cost of living council November 10, only companies with annual sales exceeding $100 million will have to obtain advance price commission approval in order to raise prices. Half of all sales will be subject only to spot checks. "Exceptions" to the board's ruling on retroactive pay are allowed only where workers can prove that employers had anticipated the raises by boosting prices. The board apparently concluded – and without investigation – that under other circumstances profits would be unjustly impaired.

In line with the decision on retroactive pay, the other initial activities of the pay board and the price commission gave no sign of the balanced analysis and study that one might hope would underline a stabilization program intended for the longer run, as Phase II is. The average annual increase in productivity is three percent. The goal for prices, established by the President, is to slow down the annual inflation rate to about two-and-a-half percent. After what must have been brain-wracking deliberations, the price commission dutifully leaked its official standards for prices: a maximum annual increase of two-and-one-half percent. By adding three to two-and-a-half, the payboard came up with its five-and-one-half percent yardstick for permissible wage boosts.

A Six-Year President

Two of the Senate's leaders, George Aiken (R, Vt.) and Mike Mansfield (D, Mont.), want a constitutional amendment to limit the presidency to a single six-year term. They believe it would "allow the President to make decisions free from the temptation of political expediency" (Aiken) and lift him above the "pedestrian partisan arena" (Mansfield). In two days of generally neglected hearings, only three of eight witnesses present endorsed the proposal, and two of those were its sponsors. Joe Califano, former special assistant to Lyndon Johnson, spoke for the amendment, as did his old boss, whom the committee questioned by telephone. The sharpest criticism came from Johnson's former press secretary George Reedy, and from historian James MacGregor Burns.

Reedy, whose recent book tells how a President's advisers isolate him from public reaction, said that "Presidents who fail to understand and practice the art of politics are doomed to failure – and so are their programs." An effective politician would have no difficulty winning a full eight years to carry out his projects; he would not benefit from the amendment. But an ineffective politician would gain by it: "The only conceivable outcome in this case is two extra years of frustration and weak government."

Burns placed special emphasis on the need for party responsibility. He would like to do away with the 22nd amendment limiting the President to two terms of office, and instead readjust congressional terms to run concurrently with the President's, so that all federal politicians would face election at four-year intervals. This would give the parties greater power to set national policy, Burns argued, making voters more con-

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scious of ideology than personality, and subordinating local issues to national; the amendment would strip voters of their right to pass judgment on the government's performance and make every President a lame duck – ineffective in Congress and neglected by his own party allies, who after a few years would begin to promote the next nominee.

Senator Aiken set little stock by this: the presidency is a powerful office, he believes, and no one would take it less seriously because of the one-term limit. Furthermore, the President would continue to dominate party politics because he would still have the greatest voice in choosing the next nominee, and Aiken believes, the President would keep in touch with the national mood through congressional elections, which would still occur every two years. Asked about the possibility of getting stuck with a bad President under his proposal, he admitted it was "a calculated risk . . . We take risks every day; this is just another." But why risk two years more of a bad President and guarantee two years less for a good one?

Spy Versus Spy

As recently as April 14 Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, assured the world that "the quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States Government in 1971 is better than it has ever been before." That's all right, the administration has now said, but it costs too much and the overlapping and competition among agencies is wasteful and inefficient. The revelations of former CIA official Victor Marchetti (at one time an aide to the deputy director of CIA) that the combined intelligence budget is $6 billion puts it a billion or so higher than previous estimates. Over 200,000 employees are involved. Hence the President's new reorganization order. Mr. Helms is to have "enhanced leadership" to bring all the fiefdoms under control.

The White House announcement produced two principal reorganizational tools: (a) a new joint intelligence budget and (b) a new evaluation group, which theoretically will affect the missions in Defense, State, the National Security Agency, and the CIA, to name the most prominent. All intelligence agencies will submit their budgets to Helms instead of to the Bureau of the Budget, and he is to sort out the wheat from the chaff. This is not really a new grant of authority. The National Security Act of 1947 gave two jobs to the CIA director – command of the agency itself, and coordinating responsibility as director of Central Intelligence, chairing the United States Intelligence Board. He also sits on the National Security Council. The idea of central supervision has been there from the start. But the idea has foundered on the realities of power; that is to say, the Pentagon. That outfit is run by the Secretary of a department, while the CIA director is still just the head of an agency. For large overseas operations, as in Vietnam and Laos, CIA is completely beholden to the Pentagon.

Bureaucratically, Helms is also in an unfavorable position, although this may not have been the President's intention. Helms will make his combined budget recommendations not directly to the National Security Council, but to a new National Security Intelligence Committee, headed by Henry Kissinger. The reorganization scheme struck Senators Symington and Fulbright as an attempt to wrest from Congress its oversight responsibilities in intelligence matters. Kissinger is inaccessible in the White House, protected from congressional questioning by executive privilege.

Kissinger gains more power through the other presidential innovation, the Net Assessment Group headed by Anthony Marshall in Kissinger's office. This group's task is to define the situation for the United States vis-à-vis the great powers, or any other problem it wants to designate as a crisis. Vigorously pursued, this concept obviously will change the mission and emphasis of the various intelligence agencies. Some will wax, other wane. But they'll still compete. Rep. Nedzi, head of the subcommittee on intelligence oversight for the House Armed Services Committee, has been looking up and down the well-shaded streets of the Intelligence Community and finds that, "There is indeed real competition among the various agencies." He is not certain Helms' budget authority will do anything more than feed interagency suspicions. There will be the argument that intelligence requires compartmentalization at the cost of efficiency, that budget control will mean a monolithic intelligence voice instead of healthy if costly rivalry. Nedzi is concerned but philosophical, gearing up for his duties by going back to the basics set forth in Compton McKenzie's spoof on British intelligence, *Water on the Brain*. In that classic the fictitious Sir William Westmacott, head of the Security of the Realm, is addressing a new recruit. "After all, the whole point of the secret service is that it should be secret."

Benefits for COs

Because of the GI Bill of Rights, nearly two million Americans have been helped to get a college education or technical training. (Current allowance: $6300 for a veteran of two years, $8280 if he has two dependents.) Many have been able to buy homes under the favorable mortgage financing and insurance offered by the Veterans Administration. Vets get preference for federal civil service jobs and in job-finding assistance by state employment agencies.

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Now a group in Seattle wants to extend these benefits to the 27,209 conscientious objectors who have performed or are performing two years of alternate service in the national interest. Calling themselves Conscientious Objectors for Service Benefits (COSB), they have sued the Veterans Administration in Seattle's Federal District Court. They point out that COs serve the nation for the same period of time as a draftee, and that Selective Service regulations require that alternative service "should constitute a disruption of the registrant's normal way of life somewhat comparable to the disruption of a registrant who is inducted into the Armed Forces." When the VA failed to appear in court to contest the suit, COSB was granted a motion for default. Since then, the VA has appealed the default motion and hearings are continuing. COSB leaders are encouraged and satellite groups are being formed in Colorado, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Minnesota and parts of California to file companion suits.

The rationale against giving GI benefits to conscientious objectors is that they do not risk their lives in combat, while many if not all draftees have had to sweat it out in the front lines. This is a strong emotional argument but not a reasonable one. These young CO's have proved to sometimes hostile draft boards and federal judges that they cannot in conscience serve in the military. They are not cop-outs. Like Peace Corps volunteers (who get certain service benefits), they do valuable work in VA hospitals, in the ghettoes and with social agencies. A hundred of them who serve in California's new Ecology Corps have received warm praise from their director, James Stearns, for their bravery in fighting forest fires and performing other duties. "War will exist until the distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige the warrior does today." So said John F. Kennedy.

City Folk and Others

The only major new domestic program given much chance of emerging from this session of Congress is the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act. Introduced by Sens. Humphrey and Talmadge, the bill has attracted 48 co-sponsors including Muskie, McGovern, Kennedy and eight Republicans.

Basically, it would establish an elaborate new rural development credit system to make loans and grants for new industries and community facilities in places of less than 35,000 population. It authorizes $500 million for the grants and an annual federal subscription of $200 million in the system's stock over the next decade. Borrowers would be required to buy stock, so that the federal subscription money eventually would be repaid. The avowed aim is to redress rural-urban "imbalance" in the nation's wealth and population. In Sen. Humphrey's words, since World War II, "more than 30 million people have abandoned the small farms and towns for the cities, so that 75 percent of our people are crowded onto less than two percent of the land. . . . If the trend to megalopolis continues, in the next 30 years 100 million more Americans will be crammed into the big cities where 150 million are already living."

There's some question about those figures. For example, 150 million is the total population of metropolitan areas rather than "big cities." A metropolitan area is any city of 50,000 and its suburbs. In fact, two thirds of the 150 million are in the uncrammed suburbs, as is virtually all metropolitan growth. The big cities are declining in population. But the larger reservation about the bill is one of priorities: it could put federal funds where the land is, rather than where the people are. And, geography aside, it has more to offer main street bankers than the rural poor. Rather than making such a heavy investment in an abstraction – such as "rural-urban balance" – we should begin meeting the real needs of people, where they live.

Revived Aid

The new foreign aid bill passed by the Senate, cutting the authorization by about 20 percent, is better and worse than the one it scuttled on October 29. The worst of it is a requirement (inapplicable, however, to Latin America) that interest rates on development loans be as high as the rates the federal government pays when it borrows, or about six-and-an-eighth percent. That's like saying to the poor, if you need money go to the bank. The ban on military sales to Greece, which a majority of the Foreign Relations Committee recommended, was eliminated. The ban on military aid to Pakistan was approved but was redundant; the administration had imposed one several days earlier.

It would have been better had the Senate followed Mr. Fulbright's suggestion and divided the aid package into three parts—military, economic and humanitarian, thereby permitting legislators a more discriminating vote. It did at least break the package in two – economic and military. It went along also with the Mansfield resolution, calling for the pullout of all US troops from Indochina by the end of six months, and for a 25 percent reduction in our overseas military advisory groups. It strengthened congressional oversight by mandating an annual authorization for the State Department and for USIA, which means that their programs will get the kind of review by the Foreign Relations Committee they have not had in the past. In addition, in voting for a phasing out of all

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bilateral aid by 1975 and authorizing that any unexpended funds that are left shall be distributed among multinational aid agencies, the Senate bill forces a general reconsideration by the White House and the Congress of the whole program. The bill further requires that all recipients of US military aid pay something out of their own pockets for what they get; they will have to deposit 25 percent of the value of the aid in local currencies, for use by the US government. This puts a new charge on their own budgets, which might diminish somewhat their appetite for military assistance. Finally, mindful of a widespread feeling that charity ought to begin at home, the Senate told the President that none of this aid money could be spent until he unfreezes about $12 billion appropriated for domestic programs that has been impounded, and he must do this by the end of the year.

All in all, not a triumph for statesmanship, but not bad either. The action now returns to the House, which will have its own opinions, after which a House-Senate conference will amend the bill again.

Harris Bows Out

Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma never ran more than a shoestring campaign, and when the shoestring broke he stopped running. His principal financial backer, a New York investment banker, told him there would be no more money, and in his retirement announcement Harris said simply: "I'm broke." He had spent close to a third of a million dollars; he's $40,000 in debt. The suddenness of the decision caught everyone by surprise. Harris had been campaigning in California, doing the usual – press conferences, talk shows, Beverly Hills fund-raising, and doing also what comes more naturally to him, rolling up his sleeves and chatting with farmers in a vineyard outside Fresno, alongside a desiccated row of just-harvested grapes. On the day he was scheduled to give the major speech at a large Democratic fund-raiser in San Francisco, he canceled, flew back to Washington, and joined dropouts Hughes, Bayh and Proxmire. Soon there will be nobody left to challenge Mr. Nixon except Muskie, McGovern, McCarthy, Humphrey, Kennedy, Lindsay, Jackson, Yorty and Chisholm.

Harris's campaign had a special quality. His premise was that people are tired of manipulative advertising pitches and want a candidate who speaks to them directly. His style was down-to-earth, though not demagogic. He attacked the big corporations, the lopsided tax structure, the monopolists. He hoped to build a "New Populism" that would appeal to blue collar workers, working farmers, minorities. The heart of his appeal was: redistribute wealth and power. When he talked about poor people and working people getting together regardless of race, when he spoke of simple folk having more common sense than "do-good liberals" and a greater understanding of what's wrong with America, the authenticity was unmistakable.

Upside-Down Priorities

Selling Out the Future

When the chips were down on tax cuts, those who talked about priorities for pollution control and education and an end to hunger voted for a different set of priorities – for beer and cosmetics and white-wall tires . . . .

Charles L. Schultze, on the 1969 Revenue Act

Congress is about to repeat its 1969 mistake and no one is paying much attention. The 1971 Revenue Act, which passed the House has been approved in all essentials by the Senate Finance committee and is about to be considered by the Senate, proposes massive tax cuts to kick some life into the economy: $5.4 billion for business and $3.2 billion for individuals in its first full year of operation. With its other provisions it will reduce expected federal revenues by $11.2 billion in 1972. Some say the bill gives back too much to business and not enough to individuals (and they are probably right). Others debate, I think properly, whether we need capital investment incentives when plants are operating at only 73 percent of capacity right now. Still more controversy centers on the tax cuts contained in the accelerated depreciation provisions, which I think are unwise.

But it has not been widely noted that the bill will take more than $100 billion from the Treasury over the next 10 years. So what happens to our "new priorities," to more federal dollars for healing the cities, building mass transit systems, public works projects, and improved medical facilities; to fighting pollution, drug abuse and crime; to decent land-use planning and development, to welfare reform and even to revenue sharing? This bill is perhaps the most important priorities decision of the 92nd Congress – and the decision is not for new priorities but for huge new consumer expenditures. If we pass it we decide that building schools and hospitals and ending hunger are less important than more cars and crowded highways.

I hear almost every Democratic presidential candidate promising that if elected he'll spend much more on domestic needs. But the budget is so badly out of balance that we will be short of funds to meet even present levels of support for our domestic programs. And this isn't the worst. Once those tax rates are

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cut, the revenue loss will be compounded in every following year. The Revenue Act as it left the House will reduce federal receipts for the '70s by $100 billion – returning 70 percent to business and 30 percent to the consumer.

The economy does need stimulation. But increased public spending will stimulate it just as effectively as tax-cuts and would allow us some of the monies we need if we are to rescue this country.

Paying higher taxes – or not cutting taxes, as in this case – is unappealing. Having one less car, or a car with less horsepower, or freeing oneself of dependence on power-hungry gadgets seems antithetical to the acquisitive American spirit. The unaccustomed prospect of cutting back our material desires does not evoke any of the brave impulses that have pulled us through in time of war, for instance. This reluctance to produce and acquire fewer of the things we need the least is reflected in this unwise tax proposal. The act says to industry, go ahead and produce, whether we really need it or not, and it gives the public some of the money to buy whatever is produced.

During the coming campaign we will hear a great deal about reordering priorities, and yet what could be the most crucial priorities decision of this decade has almost been made. If we increased the appropriation for domestic priorities programs by $11 billion, we could keep the same stimulative budget deficit the President and Secretary Connally propose. But we'd have a sound priorities game plan instead of just talking about one.

Morris K. Udall

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True Blue Democrats

Party Loyalty in '72

by Ken Bode

The Scene: Miami Beach, midsummer, 1972.
The Setting: Convention Hall.
National Democratic party chairman Lawrence O'Brien, shoulders sagging, hands at his sides, gazes down upon the nearly 5000 delegates and alternates. The floor is divided into three sections, each cordoned off by Miami Beach special security forces. The hall shakes from the tumult as chants from delegates on one side rebound from the galleries and mix with the rhythmic singing of locked-arm delegates on the other side. In the center the majority mill about aimlessly. All is anger and confusion. The chairman has long since given up trying to gavel the convention to order. The television networks have turned their cameras away from the podium. Delegates on the right thrust signs into the air which proclaim, "Wallace is the *Only* one for '72." On the left, handscrawled placards drift across the TV screens of America, "No More Chicagos – No More Miamis: Give us a Choice!"

Then the walkout begins. Like a tub with drains at either end and both plugs pulled at once, the hall begins to empty as delegates on two sides begin to file out, stopping on the way to be interviewed by the press or to have a word with Walter Cronkite. If this doesn't sound to you quite like the stuff nightmares are made of, you're not Larry O'Brien.

As he now sees it, the confusion, disorder and disaffection of my imaginary scenario could result from myriad credentials challenges put forward by delegates seeking rigid enforcement of the party's reform guidelines. Former Sen. Eugene McCarthy is already making noises about how the party must live up to its 1968 promise to represent *all* Democratic voters fairly at Miami Beach, "or we may have to return to the Mainland and see what can be done."

But although O'Brien is bothered by the distant prospect of a fourth party, his immediate problem is Wallace, for Alabama's Democratic governor is toying with the idea of running in a few Democratic primaries. When he last tried it (1964), Wallace averaged 35 percent of the vote in Maryland, Indiana and Wisconsin. It may be easier for him this time, however, for in addition to Alabama, there are several new southern

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primaries (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee and North Carolina); Wallace did very well in all of them three years ago and all are binding primaries. With four times as many delegates as New Hampshire, Florida is now the first major test for the Democrats. And in 1968, running against Nixon and Humphrey as the candidate of the American Independent Party Wallace got 28.5 percent of that state's vote and carried nearly two-thirds of Florida's 67 counties.

Under a new Florida primary law, a Presidential Candidate Selection Committee is responsible for placing the names of all "generally recognized" presidential candidates on the ballot. One Democratic vote on that committee is enough to put Wallace on the ballot, and one Democratic member now says that to leave him off would be tantamount to admitting he could win, "so I guess I'll vote to put him on." If Wallace is entered, some observers believe he might win over 70 of the 81 delegates. If that happens, the big loser is expected to be Sen. Henry Jackson, whose chances for a major showing in Florida would evaporate. And the beneficiary could be the current frontrunner, Ed Muskie. Muskie's supporters view Jackson as a major threat in only three states – Florida, Oregon and California (with the latter two primaries depending heavily on the early credibility that Florida could establish).

Since Wallace probably can't be kept out of Florida (or elsewhere for that matter), the question becomes how to keep him from winning any delegates. O'Brien's answer is a new, stringent delegate loyalty oath, which the 110-member Democratic National Committee at its October 13-14 meeting in Washington, DC adopted without discussion or dissent. It's motive was plain enough, but the consequence may be the rekindling of a dispute that has smoldered within the party for nearly a quarter of a century.

Democratic hassles over who's true blue began with the 1948 civil rights dispute and the Dixiecrat movement in that year's general election. The die was cast when Cecil Sims of Tennessee and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota spoke on opposite sides of the civil rights plank:

Sims – Have we reached the point . . . when we no longer believe that the Democratic Party stands for states' rights? . . . If we from the South, having extended the hand of friendship to this convention, if we are defeated, then I say to you that you are witnessing here today the dissolution of the Democratic Party in the South.

Humphrey – My friends, to those who say we are rushing this issue of civil rights, I say to them, we are 172 years too late. To those who say that this civil rights program is an infringement on states' rights, I say this, that the time has arrived in America for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadows of states' rights and to walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights.

Many southern Democratic leaders made good their threat to abandon the party in '48, and by 1952 there were challenges to the loyalty of delegations from six southern states; prominent officials of the Democratic Party in each of them had supported Strom Thurmond's maverick Dixiecrat bid in the previous election. Though all the challenges were resolved in favor of the established parties, the loyalty issue was nonetheless sufficiently pressing at that '52 convention to force the party to come to grips with it. A Special Advisory Committee on Rules was set up, headed by National Chairman Steven Mitchell, to make recommendations over the next four years. The issue was further sharpened by the balky behavior in '52 of such southern Democrats as Governors Robert Kennon of Louisiana, James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, and Alan Shivers of Texas – all of whom supported Eisenhower.

The Mitchell Committee Report was widely circulated a year before the '56 convention and adopted as part of the Call to that convention. The language of that Call, which has been preserved for each convention since, said that in selecting and certifying delegates to the national convention, each *state party* "undertakes to assure" that voters in the state will have an opportunity to cast ballots for the nominees of the convention and electors pledged to those nominees, and that the nominees and electors would be properly identified as Democrats. When *individual delegates* have been certified, it has been assumed that they are bona fide Democrats with the best interests of the party at heart and, absent credentials challenges, no additional assurances have been required of them. Even after several certified delegates had again served on Democrats for Eisenhower committees in 1956 and southern leaders were again advocating a bolt from the party, no loyalty oaths were required in 1960, nor did any credentials challenges materialize.

The purpose of any loyalty provision has always been to assure that the electorate in each state is given an opportunity to vote for the party's nominees in the general election, to prevent, for example what happened in 1948, when Strom Thurmond won the electoral votes of four deep South states (Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina), where he ran as the official nominee of the regular Democratic Party. In the rest of the Old Confederacy, Thurmond ran as a states' rights candidate, while the nominees of the Democratic national convention (Truman -Barkley) ran under the regular Democratic label, and won.

In 1964, voters in Alabama had no opportunity at all to vote for the national Democratic ticket – they chose between Barry Goldwater and a slate of unpledged electors. In 1968, the regular Alabama Democratic ticket was given over to George Wallace.

Yet never before has the party required a blanket

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oath of loyalty from its national convention delegates. The national party has assumed that such pledges are essentially unenforceable, and since most delegates are career Democrats anyway, their loyalty is taken for granted.

Nor was loyalty a major issue to the Democratic reform movement, though the O'Hara Commission on Rules has stipulated that by their very participation in the national convention, delegates would be bound *not* to support or campaign for the nominee of any other party. The intention here was to place a nebulous obligation on the delegate himself, as a matter of individual conscience.

But George Wallace and a potential fourth party convinced Chairman O'Brien that none of this was enough; thus the new sweeping pre-convention oath.

So, although the relevant section of the Call to the 1972 convention had already been written, adopted, and mailed to state parties last February, draftsmen at National Committee headquarters in Washington went to work to reprocess the O'Hara Commission recommendation and a new rule was adopted by the DNC. Responsibility for assuring post-convention delegate loyalty must now be borne by each of the 50-odd state Democratic parties. Prior to certifying its delegates to the convention, the state party – presumably in the person of its officers – must extract some kind of pledge from each delegate that he will not support or campaign for the nominees of another party in the general election.

Since no two states have identical delegate selection systems, the rule could lead to confusion and arbitrary application. In the 28 states where national delegates are elected at state conventions, some state party chairmen might choose to apply the oath only to the final delegation, after it's chosen. Others, on grounds that anyone participating in the selection process has the same obligation as the delegates ultimately named, could apply the rule to literally thousands of Democrats at precinct meetings and county conventions across the state. All kinds of questions arise. Will the oath apply to every person who seeks to circulate petition forms to get on the primary ballot? Or only to those who get the required number of signatures? Or only to the elected delegation *after* the primary? A person who was reluctant to swear allegiance before the primary probably could not be kept off the ballot. However, if a state chairman then sought to apply the oath to delegates after they had been elected, he might be forced to single-handedly reverse the results of a popular primary if anyone refused to cooperate.

Let's go back to Florida. There, candidates for convention delegate and alternate are elected by congressional district, and at-large, and are bound to vote for the winner of the presidential preference poll. But the Rules Committee of the Florida State Democratic Party has stipulated that if any candidate wins some or all of Florida's 81 delegates and *then enters a third-party ticket in another state*, his Florida delegates will not be certified at the national Democratic convention. The delegate votes he wins in the primary will go by default to the second highest presidential candidate. This regulation could foreclose the possibility of Florida delegates pledged to Wallace at the Democratic convention.

But Wallace's main objective seems to be another run for the presidency not on the Democratic, but on the American Independent Party ticket. To get that party on the ballot nationwide, it will be necessary to certify its candidates and electors in several states well before the Democratic convention. And Wallace will have to be personally involved. Without the drawing power of his name on the petition, it is doubtful that AIP supporters could satisfy the rather sizable signature requirements in many states. In Georgia, for example, to certify its candidates and electors, an independent party must file petitions with over 62,000 signatures by June 14. Wallace might enjoy embarrassing the Democrats by having pledged delegates in Miami, but this is not crucial to his strategy. He wants mainly to demonstrate his power to draw substantial support in Democratic primaries. As applied in Florida, the loyalty pledge will not seriously affect his ability to do that.

While Wallace's interests are largely outside the Democratic Party, those of left-of-center Democrats are mainly inside. McCarthy's "return to the Mainland" threat is mitigated somewhat by early filing and petition deadlines for an independent party. Irrespective of that, it is doubtful that he or any other left-of-center Democrat will announce a fourth party until after Miami. Their attitude is "wait-and-see"; at this point, they're not ready to abandon the party. Therefore, regardless of their ultimate decision, they could sign the loyalty oath as an honest indication of *present* intent and, not unlike the southern Democrats of yesteryear, change their minds *after* the convention.

Some, for reasons of conscience, will be unwilling to sign a pledge of allegiance. Conscience aside, some think that the oath is a violation of the Constitution. In effect, a citizen is required to accept a restriction on his rights of political association in a general election as a condition of his participation in the nominating process. It can be argued that this is a prior restraint on an individual's vote and association, both of which are protected by the First Amendment.

Legality aside, by placing a general oath of loyalty in the Call to its national convention, with interpretation and application left to 50 different state parties, the Democratic Party may have done more to encourage discord than anything the reformers have come up with. For although party unity is a laudable objective, it is best achieved through accommodation on candidates, rules and platform among competing groups.

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Lewis Powell's Confusion

Facts About Wiretapping

by Nathan Lewin

Even those who are unhappy with his nomination to the Supreme Court consider Lewis Powell a fair-minded man. That makes it vital that he not be misinformed on facts which may influence his vote on important cases to be heard by the Court. Among the issues awaiting hearing soon after the two seats now vacant are filled is the much-disputed power of the Department of Justice to wiretap or bug without judicial authorization in "national security" cases. The question is one on which Mr. Powell has publicly expressed an opinion – and it appears, unfortunately, to be ill-informed.

In a long article written in mid-summer for his hometown newspaper, *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Mr. Powell defended society against the charge – which he characterized as the "propaganda of the radical left" – that it has become increasingly "repressive." One of the subjects he examined in some detail was wiretapping, where he found "unsubstantiated charges" and "little effort . . . to delineate the purposes or the actual extent of electronic surveillance." The "facts" on wiretapping by the Department of Justice, said Mr. Powell, are that it is employed "in two types of situations: (1) against criminal conduct such as murder, kidnapping, extortion and narcotics offenses, and (2) in national security cases."

True it is that over the years J. Edgar Hoover and Department of Justice personnel from attorneys general on down have publicly asserted that wiretapping is justified in cases of murder, kidnapping, extortion or other crimes "where human life is at stake." Even Presidents such as FDR and Harry Truman confidentially ratified wiretapping in these aggravated circumstances. But invariably the instances where federal wiretaps or bugs have come to light have not been jeopardy-to-human-life situations. The leading Supreme Court cases in 1928, 1937 and 1942 were Prohibition, liquor-smuggling and bankruptcy-fraud conspiracies. While the forties and fifties saw more than their share of "internal security" wiretaps (including disclosures made during the prosecution of Judith Coplon of massive FBI tapping in her case and others), it is hard to find many known instances of FBI tapping for investigation of murder, kidnapping or extortion. And when disclosures of bugs and wiretaps were made in the late sixties, many appeared to be directed at gambling-casino operators.

Most startling are the officially reported statistics under the electronic surveillance provisions of the 1968 Omnibus Crime Act. Mr. Powell cites the law as authorizing wiretapping against the type of crime he describes only after "the rights of suspects are carefully safeguarded." Among the safeguards is the requirement of a prior court order under which the place and duration of a tap are limited. The law also requires judges and prosecutors to report to the Administrative Office of the US Courts on the details of a wiretap order and on its results.

For the calendar year 1970, there were 180 taps or bugs installed on the request of the Department of Justice under federal court order. (Three others were authorized but never put in place.) How many were investigations of "murder, kidnapping or extortion"? Not one. Two-thirds of the total number were in gambling investigations. Narcotics investigations accounted for 41, with loan-sharking covering another 16, and the remaining five divided among various property offenses.

Mr. Powell argues – as Attorney General Mitchell has done in public speeches – that wiretapping has been effective. He cites the cumulative figures for 1969 and 1970 – 900 arrests for 309 wiretaps – as proof of results. The persuasiveness of the statistics is diluted somewhat, however, when one notes that the totals include mass arrests such as 66 in one Michigan gambling case and 31 in another Pennsylvania gambling conspiracy. In fact, of the 180 authorized wiretaps, 82 resulted in no arrests at all.

Even more serious misapprehensions affect Mr. Powell's discussion of the second category, lumped together as "national security cases." These he further defines as "counterintelligence activities involving national defense and internal security." Assuming the answer to a question which he will be called upon to decide in his Supreme Court robes, Mr. Powell goes on to say that the 1968 law "left this delicate area to the inherent power of the President." (There is substantial evidence that the language of the law – which provides only that it shall not "limit the constitutional power of the President" in the national security area – was care-

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fully cast to express no opinion by Congress on whether the President constitutionally has any such inherent power.)

Mr. Powell's definition does not jibe with the facts. Nor is the justification he subsequently gives for "national security" wiretapping without court order borne out by a fair interpretation of the statistical reports.

"Intelligence" is a term of art in the history of debate over electronic surveillance. Ever since the Supreme Court ruled that it was a federal crime to intercept a telephone call and divulge its contents, the FBI, supported by the Department of Justice, has argued that it could tap for "intelligence" as contrasted with "investigation." While "intelligence" is merely for internal use – to keep up on the doings of spies, subversives and saboteurs – and requires no disclosure outside the federal establishment, successful "investigation" would result in a prosecution and thereby require the "divulgence" prohibited by federal law. So when Mr. Powell speaks of using wiretaps in "counterintelligence activities involving national defense and internal security," it may fairly be supposed that he is referring to what the government's brief in the pending Supreme Court case calls "the collection of intelligence information to protect the national security."

Is this the limit of "national security" wiretaps or are they also being used to obtain evidence against suspected members of militant organizations? The government's brief in the Supreme Court waffles on this point. While it tries to uphold constitutionality for "intelligence" wiretaps, it says only that "*most* national security electronic surveillances do not result in prosecutions." And the Justice Department's consistent unwillingness to deny that wiretaps have been used in its investigations of the Capitol bombing, of the Berrigan conspiracy, and of the publication of the Pentagon Papers – even to the extent of fighting preliminary procedural issues to the Supreme Court – strongly suggests that "intelligence-gathering" has not been the primary purpose of all "national security" taps.

Here again the statistics are startling. For almost 30 years, the FBI and the Department of Justice hammered away at the Congress and at public opinion on the need for wiretapping in the fields of "espionage, sabotage and subversion." Repeatedly in the forties and fifties, Attorneys General from Robert H. Jackson to Herbert Brownell requested laws which would legitimate and regularize such "national security" wiretapping. They were consistently rebuffed. Finally, in 1968, Congress enacted the bugging-and-wiretapping-by-court-order provisions, with the safeguards which Mr. Powell rightly admires. That law specifically authorizes court-ordered tapping or bugging in the investigation of a number of federal criminal offenses. Heading the list are violations of the Atomic Energy Act, and of the espionage, sabotage and treason laws. Yet not a single court order has been sought by the Justice Department for an espionage, sabotage or subversion investigation.

Mr. Powell explains – as the government's Supreme Court brief does – that applications for court orders would violate the "need for secrecy" in national security investigations and would "seriously handicap our counterespionage and counter-subversive operations." That makes it sound as if every last one of these wiretaps is on the telephone of the Soviet embassy or on a front for Cuban intelligence operations in the United States. How does it justify a six-month wiretap on the office of the Jewish Defense League or on homes and offices of members of the Black or White Panthers?

Why is "secrecy" less important in narcotics wiretaps than in bombing or rioting wiretaps? And why is it assumed that the statutory procedure is likely to breach this wall of security? When the FBI installs a wiretap, it must rely on at least a dozen agents to keep its existence secret. Is it more likely that word will get out if a federal judge is also privy to the information? Experience under the 1968 law has not shown any leaks from federal court wiretap orders; indeed, the law provides ample protection for legitimate government interests in secrecy.

Mr. Powell argues, however, that wiretapping is a tried-and-true means of "effective detection . . . used against espionage and subversion for at least three decades under six Presidents." What he forgets is that when its sweeping use became public knowledge in 1949 in the Coplon case – a "national security" investigation if ever there was one – it generated much public criticism and resulted in the appellate courts reversing Miss Coplon's convictions. And whatever the Department of Justice may have done unilaterally when there was no law authorizing tapping under court order and prescribing court-controlled safeguards in espionage and sabotage cases is surely no precedent for what it may be permitted to do now that a law is on the books.

Mr. Powell maintains that the tempest over wiretapping "seems almost to be a conspiracy to confuse the public." There is truth to the charge, but the conspirators are not who Mr. Powell thinks they are. He does, however, seem to be among the conspiracy's victims.

COMING: a report
by Paul R. Wieck
on Edmund Muskie's
presidential campaign

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Throwing Out the Baby

In Defense of Foreign Aid

by Robert E. Hunter

There is much wisdom in what Senator Frank Church said last week in *The New Republic* about our bilateral foreign aid program. He correctly places the blame for many failures on our attitudes of power that have made foreign aid serve policies of arrogance, omnipotence and even exploitation. It is difficult to fault the Senator's concern about the role of our military aid policies, which have left the Nixon Doctrine with little that does not derive from the defense support programs of the 1950's. But the Senator reserves some of his harshest criticism for bilateral aid designed for economic development.

Mr. Church bases his argument on the premise that development aid in the 1960s failed. It did not deter Communism, strengthen democratic governments, gain influence or furnish the destitute with a broader measure of social justice. In some instances he is right. But this is largely a reflection of the inflated expectations for economic aid that various administrations have fostered. The Senator himself is not entirely free of this – witness his ambivalence on aid's being unable to win us support in the UN vote on China.

Behind the rhetoric, there was only one real goal that was – and is – a practical one: to promote some economic development, whatever objectives may be achieved incidental to it. Senator Church's central case really rests, therefore, on a single proposition: that U.S. bilateral economic aid cannot contribute significantly to this one goal. I don't think he makes his case. Furthermore, he provides no workable design for the new positive approach he rightly says is needed for development cooperation. Before wrecking the old structure, he should help construct a new one.

Even in arguing against bilateral economic aid, Senator Church is precise in his focus: technical assistance, administered through the Peace Corps, should go on. But development loans must be curtailed; and we must cease US government insurance of private foreign investment. Both of these he sees as merely forms of export-creation and profit-generation financed by the American people and benefiting only private industry.

The issue of development loans, to begin with, is far more complicated than Senator Church makes it out. His litany of failures overlooks many positive successes, and the fact that, for whatever reason, developing countries did achieve the one target set during the 1960s – growth at five percent per year. This was a spectacular achievement. It represented a greater sustained leap forward than the US or Western Europe ever achieved in any ten-year period during the period of our development. It can hardly be disputed that aid did furnish some of the sinews of growth. Because of aid, people were trained, capital was put in place and is producing goods; and countries like India were able to double their wheat production. More than this could hardly be expected from the relatively minor amount of money which Congress committed to the effort. Like ending poverty at home, poverty abroad will not disappear under the pressure of good wishes and token payments. Of course, resources from outside are no substitute for local efforts; but in many countries they provide the extra help that spells the difference between success and failure, confidence and lassitude.

Senator Church questions whether development loans and credits for our agricultural commodities might not do more harm than good. He is concerned that this aid creates "relationships of dependency," beginning with a level of debt that is a burden on poor countries' future development. The answer, however, is simple: don't kill the flow of resources that are needed for development, but rather increase the percentage of loans that is outright grant. And definitely don't *triple* the interest on these loans as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee did two weeks ago.

Similarly, if US goods purchased with development loans are priced higher than in the world market, as the Senator indicates, why do poor countries accept these loans? Most often, they simply cannot buy on commercial terms because they lack foreign exchange. Thus, even when the cost of US goods is higher, the favorable credit terms of the aid loan often represent the difference between a country's being able to buy tractors, trucks and wheat from us or have none at all. Here, Senator Church implies that our aid is worth less than the administration says it is. He is right. But this is an argument for doing more, not less – for lending more, lending on softer terms, and giving more aid as grants.

Senator Church is also concerned that our aid –

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economic as well as military – helps to prop up repressive regimes. It is no secret that some regimes that receive our aid are "repressive" though many are not, including India, which has been the chief beneficiary of our development loans over the years. This whole issue consistently begs the question of the role that US foreign aid, in any form, can play in preserving any regime. Belief in American omnipotence is not limited to the political right; it has just as firm a grip on the left. The left may make a different judgment of American actions (evil instead of good), but it shares a belief with the right in our power to influence events. Yet, we need only to look at the extreme cases of trying to do so – economic sanctions against countries like Rhodesia and cutting off all aid to Ceylon for expropriating US businesses – to realize how hollow this pretension is. Other than exceptional cases like Vietnam, our economic aid doesn't prop up regimes and withdrawing it won't make them fall.

Furthermore, there is a bold assumption underlying the belief in a "hands off" policy for the United States. Senator Church thinks that withdrawing our support will not only help lead to the downfall of repressive regimes, but will also permit the springing forth of "radical revolutions" that are the "only real hope for development" in many countries. In some places revolution may be required. But in how many is it the key? Can one simplistic theory be substituted for another? There have been too many revolutions in the world since our own, for us to forget that many fruits of that tree have been bitter. Action in the name of the "People" is no guarantee that there will be a more equitable distribution of income. Nor should we Americans judge that a stagnant economy like Cuba's is better – however much "equality" it provides – than an authoritarian regime like Taiwan's that has an impressive record of both growth and social justice. In some countries, there may be little "trickle down" of aid while the economy grows. But is that worse than none at all? And how do we judge whether we are expecting too much social change, too soon?

Senator Church states that US aid merely widens the gap between the developing world and ourselves – and between rich and poor in developing countries, themselves. In the former case, however, the problem would be worse if there had been no aid at all. And in the latter case, the Senator has lumped together all development loan aid and condemned it wholesale. Yet the bulk of it goes to educate children, to buy better seeds and fertilizer for farmers, to provide birth control information, clean drinking water, roads, bridges, generators and food supplements. These things that aid buys can help to close the income gap, not widen it.

These are some of the problems raised by Senator Church's critique. Some of these may be reduced – if not solved – by more modesty in our expectations; and some by thinking through again the reasons that we have an aid program at all. Not only is there the simple humanitarian motive of wanting to see poorer countries have a chance to do something for themselves; there is also our general interest in a worldwide trading and monetary system that can only work if developing countries can play a role in it based on a greater sense of equity than at present. Already we are beginning to need the help of developing countries in coping with problems of the environment and narcotics. Tomorrow the degree of interdependence will be greater. And there are positive benefits in the sheer survival of countries in the developing world, with some hope for the future. Development can be the key to all of these in many poor countries. And development will suffer if we close our pocketbook.

India is a prime example. We cannot rule out the importance of India's economic survival to us and to others. Nor can we ignore the dilemmas that would be posed for us if that country, too, disintegrated as Pakistan is in the process of doing. But aid to refugees in the two Bengals is insufficient: India's political future also turns on having enough outside economic assistance that there will be a chance for it to cope with massive problems of poverty, malnutrition and unemployment. Of course, we don't know that development loans from the United States will spell the difference between success or failure for India; but it is worth an investment of a few hundred million dollars a year to find out; especially since the Indian government itself makes the request. And the issue is an even larger one: India – like Indonesia – depends on our bilateral development loans as the basis of an international cooperative effort, led by the World Bank, that multilateral institutions cannot sustain on their own. If we reduce our help for India, other rich countries will probably do likewise, and international cooperation will become more difficult in a number of fields.

Furthermore, India is a good example of how we *can* avoid the dilemmas feared by Senator Church repressive regimes, a US military venture following an initial commitment of economic resources, a growing gap between rich and poor, and domination by the United States. Indeed, because India is the chief recipient of our aid – most likely to be hurt by any cut – it must be the prime example in any analysis.

This example of a positive role in US policy for bilateral economic aid is not an isolated one. It is repeated in other areas where the US continues to have an interest in stable development. Some of the methods need to change and our definition of "self-interest" needs to be broadened; but the goal is still valid.

A disdain for legitimate US self-interest is particularly evident in Senator Church's criticism of the role of US private investment and trade abroad. It is true that the Export-Import Bank acts primarily to promote

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US trade, not to aid development. It also is true that the bulk of US development loans provide a subsidy to American business, since they are largely tied to purchases in this country. And it is true that Food for Peace is a form of subsidy to the American farmer. But what of it? These subsidies still help the poor countries develop, and if curtailed would be replaced by some other form of government support for business and agriculture. If the Senator wants to end the subsidy to American business, he will support the President's efforts to get all rich countries to stop tying their aid to their exports. He doesn't need to kill our export and investment promotion programs.

Entirely different, however, is the question of whether US investments in developing countries always help more than they hurt. Abuses are obvious and have been cited by Mr. Church. We do face a dilemma in extracting ourselves from exploitative arrangements – as in the case of Chile. But some countries, notably Mexico and several in East Asia, have worked out mutually satisfactory arrangements for a US business role in their development, including increased local participation, control, and progressive divestment of outside ownership. There is nothing inherent to prevent US private investment from earning reasonable profits under equitable arrangements with developing countries.

To be fair to Senator Church, he is not against the transfer of resources to the developing world, as such. For example, he has called for improvements in the terms of trade for poor countries: the ratio of the prices that countries get for their exports to those they pay for imports. This is a worthy objective, but it will require major changes in US policy that are not now apparent, and these will be fought by business interests all the way. In recent years it has become harder, rather than easier, for poor countries' products to enter the US. Hopefully, Senator Church will take the lead in the Senate to reverse this trend.

Furthermore, Senator Church wants to rely increasingly on international financial institutions, like the World Bank. Many experts agree with him; the President has already embraced this concept, as part of the Peterson Report. Unfortunately, the United States is severely limited in the extent to which it can at this time channel increased resources through these institutions. As the system currently works – at the insistence of Congress – any major increase in our contributions must be matched by other countries, which they will only do gradually. Instead of simply killing bilateral aid, Senator Church might try persuading his congressional colleagues to let the US make voluntary, unmatched contributions.

It must be admitted there is a real danger this would increase our influence in the way loans are granted by the multilateral institutions, thus bringing in some of the dilemmas that the Senator sees in bilateral assistance. The Inter-American Development Bank is a good illustration: because of our overwhelming financial contribution, pressures have built up within the Congress for the US to dominate the Bank's operations.

It is certainly a good idea to "go multilateral." But wanting to do this quickly is really arguing that the US should curtail drastically the total amount of resources it devotes to development loans. Moreover, many Senators and Representatives support a bilateral loan program and oppose a multilateral one, precisely because of the matter of US control over how the money is used.

Senator Church may support larger contributions to the multilateral institutions, though he is also concerned with the sheer magnitude of the foreign aid budget (in commentary following his Senate speech, he cites our balance of payments difficulties.) Yet, he himself has taken pains to show how little real economic aid we give, and how almost all of it – 93 percent of bilateral aid – is spent in this country. He simply cannot have the argument both ways; nor can he expect to reduce the dilemmas of aid without cost.

He emphasizes the importance of reordering our national priorities – the need to use the money here at home. But it is difficult to argue that the United States – the richest country in the world – cannot afford its proportionate share of an international effort that may be of critical importance to countries that are so much worse off than we. No one will have much sympathy for a people who "poor mouth" with a trillion dollar economy. It is no idle statistic that we now rank 12th out of the 16 wealthiest countries in percentage of GNP devoted to governmental economic aid.

At heart, what we are deciding now is whether the US will play its part in meeting international responsibilities towards poor countries. A careful formula for sharing the burden has been agreed among the rich countries – a formula on which our government is now seriously in default. We should design a foreign aid program that has fewer dilemmas. But the question most developing countries ask us is not "how?" but "how much?" And the answer has been: "very little."

In the vote on foreign aid on October 29, many Senators were primarily concerned to shock the administration into making some major changes in the program – indeed in its whole foreign policy. This is an honored technique in Washington, and it may work this time. At least, in the long term, there is real value in separating economic from military aid in the appropriations process – as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wants and as the President has recommended. Even if this results in lower economic aid in the short-term, it may be worth it if we can establish a better way of looking at the needs of poor countries. But without a fundamental commitment to the objectives of economic aid, however these are redefined, this change will only prove another excuse to short-change the poor of the world.

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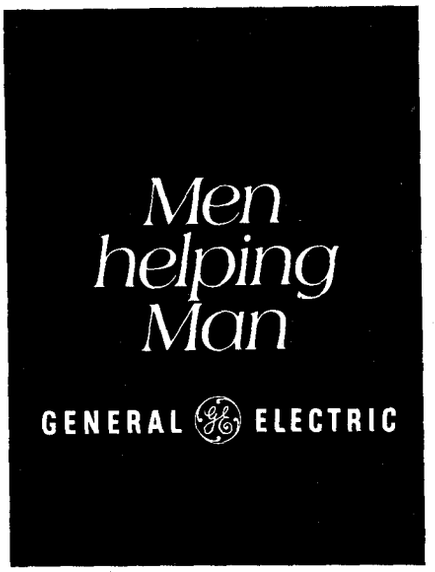

If that were just a slogan, the next two pages would be blank

Before a company signs its advertising with "Men helping Man," that company had better be trying to do something about problems like pollution... crime... transportation... heart disease ...the energy crisis. That company had better be trying to do something about some of the biggest problems facing the country and its cities today.

General Electric is.

In fact, General Electric is probably working in more of these problem areas than any other company.

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On the following two pages are some of the things GE people have been working on. None represents a total answer to the country's problems, of course.

But we think you'll agree they're clear examples of "Men helping Man."

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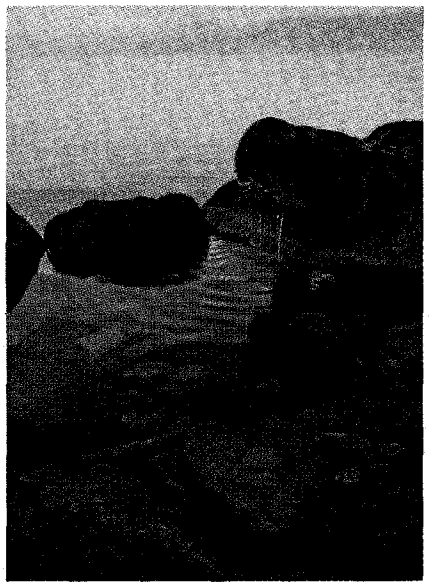
With GE's help there's at least one lake still pure enough to drink.



Lake Tahoe has been called the most beautiful lake in the world.

To keep it that way, the people who live there wanted one of the most advanced and effective sewage treatment systems in the world.

With General Electric's help, they now have it on the lake's south shore.

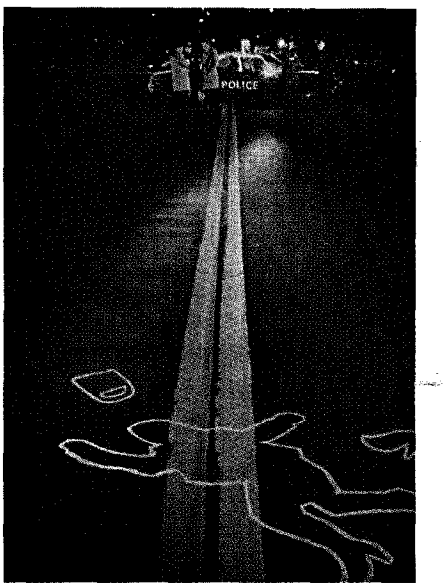
Water from the system, like the lake itself, is pure enough to drink. But, even so, it's pumped over an 8,000-foot mountain pass into a reservoir for swimming and fishing.

The people of Tahoe want only pure mountain streams flowing into the lake.

General Electric motors, controls, meters and GE service people help keep the whole sewage-treatment system working.

GE also has a new idea for purifying water. A new membrane, developed through GE research, may lead to a home filtering unit that will keep viruses and bacteria out of your drinking water.

People can live without street lights. Sometimes.



Where new streetlights have gone up, the crime and accident rate has gone down.

In cities like Detroit, New York, Indianapolis and Hartford, new street-lighting systems from General Electric have helped cut night crime in lighted areas by better than 50%.

Across the country, many new systems use GE's Lucalox® lamps. The most efficient source of white light ever invented. Lucalox puts out twice as much light as the best mercury systems . . . on no more electricity.

Streetlights are only one way GE is helping fight crime and accidents.

High-speed saws—with a cutting edge of General Electric Man-Made™ diamonds—are being used to cut narrow, parallel grooves into roads at hazardous curves.

The grooves give cars a firmer grip in wet weather. And cut accidents by as much as 85%.

We helped make the working day an hour shorter in Philadelphia.

For many Philadelphia commuters, the eight-hour day doesn't seem as long as it used to. Because they now save up to an hour in travel time every day.

They ride the country's first automated rapid-transit system.

It's the new Port Authority line between downtown and the New Jersey suburbs.

General Electric motors move the trains along at up to 75 miles an hour. GE automatic controls keep them running 2 minutes apart during rush hour.

The full round trip is a good hour faster than the driving time. And a good deal more relaxing.

GE is working in other ways to help people travel.

For the future, General Electric is continuing its research into a practical battery to power a broad range of electric vehicles for transportation.

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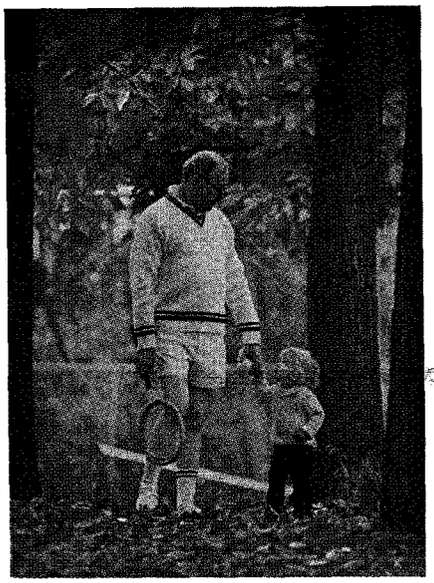
"I died three years before she was born."



"Before I passed out, I remember thinking, 'This is what it's like to die.'"

Five years ago, before his granddaughter was born, Bernie Wallach had what might have been a fatal heart attack.

But he was lucky enough to be near a hospital with General Electric coronary-monitoring equipment.

The equipment gave doctors an instant electronic reading of Bernie's condition. Later, it kept watch over every beat of his heart for signs of another attack.

GE coronary-monitoring equipment improves a heart patient's chance of survival by about 30%. And people like Bernie Wallach are alive today because of it.

It's only one way GE helps medical science fight heart disease. Another is a GE artificial lung just introduced which greatly increases the time doctors have for open-heart surgery.

A match puts more smoke in the air than a nuclear power plant.

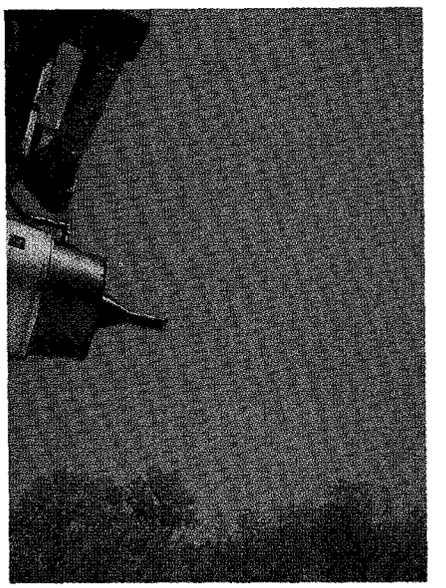
Nuclear power plants don't burn anything to make electricity. And where there's no fire, there's no smoke.

That's why so many people concerned about the environment now favor nuclear power. It's just about the cleanest way there is to make electricity.

Safety has always been the first consideration in building nuclear power plants. Take radiation, for example. A typical plant adds an average of less than 5 millirems/year of radiation to the natural radiation of its site. That's less in a year than the extra radiation you'd receive on one round-trip cross-country jet flight.

Fourteen years ago, GE built the first nuclear power plant ever licensed. Today, GE is helping develop a "breeder reactor." A breeder makes more fuel than it uses. In the next 20 years, breeders should begin making the job of meeting the country's demand for electricity easier.

This is a picture of the exhaust from our new jet engine.



This is an unretouched picture of our newest jet engine running at full take-off power. Where's the smoke? There's no smoke at all.

The engine in the picture is on a test stand. But virtually smokeless engines just like it are now in airline service on the McDonnell Douglas DC-10.

There's more to jet exhaust than just smoke, of course. Our goal is to one day make jets run totally clean.

Jet noise is another problem. But while there's still a long way to go, GE has already succeeded in making the DC-10 engines quieter than those on other commercial jets. Even though the new engines are more than twice as powerful as most engines now in service.

GE has been chosen by NASA to help solve aviation industry noise problems. By 1973, we hope to have developed the technology needed to get engine noise well below anticipated federal standards.

Men helping Man

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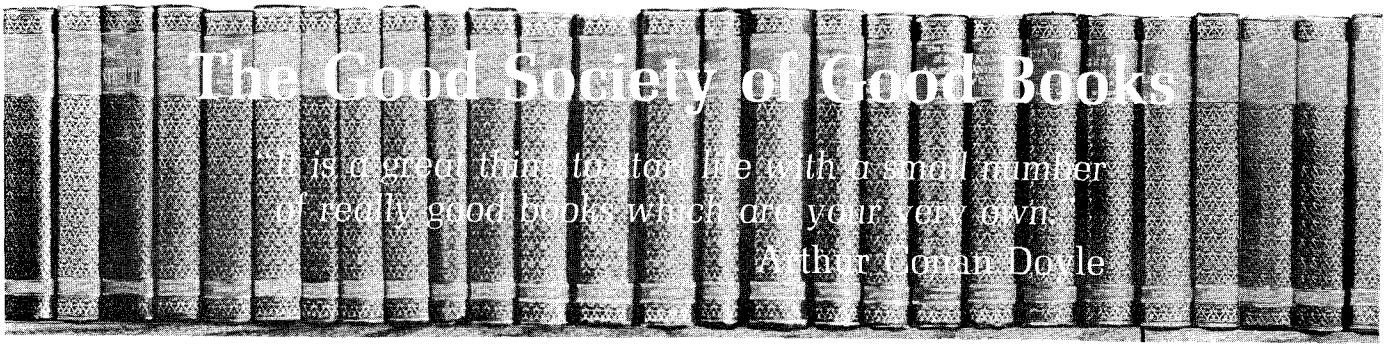
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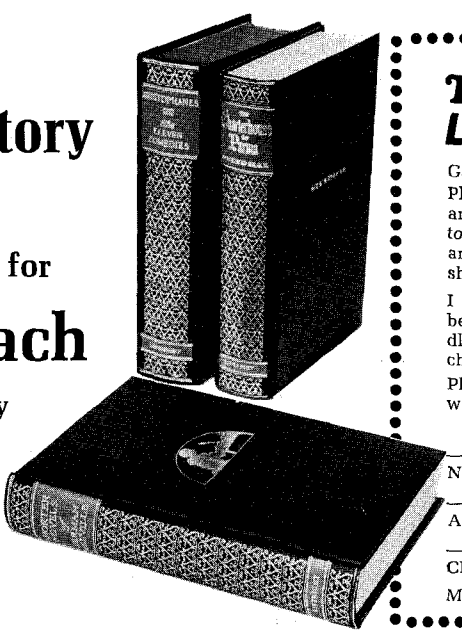

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Adding Things Up

Big Doesn't Mean Efficient

by Ralph E. Lapp

"Bigger is better." That's the trend in modern technology – although its advocates refer to it as "economy of scale." Meaning that if you make something greater in size, you make it more efficient.

Now there can be little doubt that a corporate cost accountant can verify the economy of supersize, but this quest for efficiency also involves a massive ability to wreck the environment. Take, for example, the jumbo-size steam-electric plants that are being built to supply the nation's growing demand for electric energy. From 1930 to the early '50s generating units did not run much over the 200,000 kilowatt level. Then engineers came to the conclusion that bigger would be cheaper – that much larger generators would represent savings for the utilities and the race was on to build jumbo-size power plants.

By the mid-'60s huge new steam-electric plants began dotting the landscape. The input and output of the fossil-fueled versions of these generators produced visible environmental scars. A million kilowatt plant, five-fold more powerful than World War II units, demands some 8000 tons of coal per day. This input, multiplied by the fuel appetite of scores of other new plants, boosted the requirements for coal production, and strip-mining became the means of ripping coal from surface beds. In some cases (see "Trinkets for Navajos," *The New Republic*, July 3, 1971) like that of Black Mesa, Arizona, the strip coal is pumped 273 miles in a water mixture or slurry with attendant problems of water use and disposal. But in all cases where coal is burned, pollutants belch forth from the stacks – sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides, mercury and even radioactive materials, not to mention highly visible fly ash or particulates. The Four Corners plant at Farmington, New Mexico puts out 350 tons of soot and fly ash per day in 1971. That's more than twice New York City's outpouring.

All steam-electric plants require a constant flow of cooling water to condense steam in their turbines. The bigger the plant, the more water you need, and although a more efficient unit demands somewhat less water per kilowatt, it imposes this water requirement at a single site and the heated discharge water may produce thermal pollution. A recent US projection to the year 1980 places utility consumption of water at 193 billion gallons per day for cooling purposes or over 40 percent of all water use, including irrigation. So great has been the need of finding adequate supplies of cooling water that many power companies have chosen or been forced to add cooling towers or ponds to their sites. Thus going to bigger plants meant that the utilities ran into environmental trouble, which is now costing them time and money as they rush to fix up their hot water problem.

The utility pursuit of "economy of scale" obviously could not be confined to fossil-fueled steam-electric plants; it had to envelop the design of nuclear power plants which were breaking through their technological cocoons in the '60s. The kilowatt boom caught the nuclear experts in a tight bind in that they were forced to keep up with the power escalation of fossil-fired plants, otherwise their units would be less efficient. So nuclear plants jumped from initial 200,000 kilowatt ratings to 500,000 kw and then to 800,000 kw units now coming into operation. If the Atomic Energy Commission approves, a few million kilowatt nuclear plants will start up next year. A total of 48 such plants may be completed in the next decade.

Nuclear "bigness" entails certain problems of plant safety and environmental impact that are only now receiving serious attention. Going to larger economy sizes in nuclear packages has meant that the nuclear fireboxes (reactor cores) may become too hot to handle safely in the event of a steam pipe break. Known as the ECC or emergency core cooling problem, this issue was posed in *The New Republic's* Jan. 23 issue in an article entitled "How Safe Are Nuclear Power Plants?" Thereafter, I had the benefit of extended sessions at the highest level in the AEC as well as at laboratory sites. As a result, I became convinced that nuclear safety is the number one problem facing the AEC and the nuclear industry. Partial acknowledgment of this contention came in June of this year, when the AEC issued new recommendations for emergency core cooling systems.

Unfortunately, the AEC's new criteria lack full explanatory descriptions; the AEC took the unusual step of issuing its criteria without a back-up report which would allow them to be criticized. Nonetheless, an enterprising group of "Concerned Scientists" – Daniel F. Ford, Henry W. Kendall and James J. MacKenzie – accepted the AEC's criteria at face value and last month published "A Critique of the New AEC Design Criteria for Reactor Safety Systems" in which detailed questions were raised. It's now clear that the AEC has been subjected to its first

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incisively technical confrontation on nuclear safety. It's equally clear that the whole issue will not be resolved to the satisfaction of environmentalists until the mid-'70s, when AEC experiments with real reactors give some hope of verifying the adequacy of existing safety designs.

Since nuclear plants are less efficient than their fossil-fired counterparts, they are more wasteful of heat and require more cooling water per kilowatt. This, plus the vulnerability of most nuclear plants to environmental criticism, has narrowed the choice of many utilities as they search for new power sites. They must find several hundred before the close of the century and already some northeastern utilities are looking out to sea. Cold sea water and an open stretch of water solve the thermal pollution and population safety problem, but raise a perturbing question about marine contamination in the event an accident occurs. What if a molten reactor core escapes containment and drops into the ocean? The radioactive consequences of a runaway core transcend the localized hazard if such an accident took place on land. For this reason, I recently proposed that seagoing reactors be equipped with "core-catchers," *i.e.*, with devices to trap and immobilize the molten core.

Some utilities are not exactly ecstatic over the economies of scale, since, given the sheer size of plant and capital required to build it, they are too small to finance such an undertaking. They know that their existing little plants are costly to operate and inferior to the jumbo-size electric stations, but they are forced to buy a piece of a new plant or go out of the generating business and become a distributor of power. There are over 3000 utilities in the US and the trend to bigness can rob many of them of their traditional role as generator, transmitter and distributor of electric energy. This rush to bigness also leaves many developing nations with limited choices in selecting generating units. New nuclear units will cost $400 to $500 per kilowatt in the 1980s and 1990s so that a high-power plant will cost up to half a billion dollars.

If techno-giantism pains the electric industry and dilutes the joys of going-to-bigness, the example is by no means singular. Perhaps of even greater significance is the growing demand for petroleum. Our 110 million motor cars account for the bulk of the demand, which totaled 5.3 billion barrrels of oil last year. This figure will certainly double by the year 2000 and it might even triple. Oil resources in the lower 48 states are being depleted rapidly and annual production will decline in this decade, forcing dependence upon offshore, Alaskan or foreign oil. All of which means ocean pollution and, in particular, remembering the *Torrey Canyon* disaster, attention focuses on the hazard of bigness in oil tankers.

World War II's standard tanker, the T-2, is still in operation, hauling 16,675 tons of cargo or in seagoing terms, it is a 16,675 deadweight ton vessel. The number of barrels per ton varies somewhat, depending on the oil's origin, but runs over 7 barrels per ton. That makes a T-2, the standard of the tanker industry's transport lingo, equal to 120,000 barrels, moved at 14.5 knots. In 1970 the world's tanker fleet was the equivalent of 11,000 T-2's. This corresponds to some 3200 tankers with a total dead weight of 150 million tons.

The *Torrey Canyon*, 810 feet in length and 67,000 tons dw, was the largest of its class in 1959 but economies of size overtook it in 1964 and it went to a Japanese shipyard to be stretched 165 feet so that it could carry 117,000 tons or 850,000 barrels of oil. The economies which prevailed were threefold. First, the capital cost for higher payload was attractive. Second, propulsion costs did not go up proportionately with size; for example, its 145 tons of fuel consumed per day were only three times that of a T-2 which could carry only a seventh as much oil. Third, automation cut crew size, 35 men on board the *Torrey Canyon*, whereas the T-2 required 47 men.

So irresistible were these economies that the supertanker, like olives, demanded new superlatives for size. The tankers underwent successive three-way stretches as the *Universe* class was reached. For example, the *Universe Iran*, a 327,000 tonner, measures 1132 from tip to stern, is 175 in breadth and, most importantly, draws 81 feet of water. These supertankers are strictly deep water vessels that often have to seek special anchorage for oil transfer. Not the most maneuverable ships on the seas, they take 11 minutes for a "crash stop" and plow ahead almost 2 miles before arresting their motion.

Analysis of the past two decades of tanker construction shows an accelerating trend to huge size. Mitsui Zosan has designed a 400,000 tonner; Isihikawajima-Harima Heavy Industries has plans for a 470,000 dwt tanker and tanker men are looking forward to a megatanker. This seagoing island, over 2000 feet in length with a deck area large enough to accommodate 9 football fields, will transport more than 7 million barrels of oil in one hull.

World oil trade is increasing to keep pace with demand, which for some nations goes up over 10 percent a year (4.5 percent for the US), so that by the year 2000 it is safe to say there will be a billion barrels of oil at sea on any one day. Tanker men argue that the supertankers are less hazardous than an equivalent number of smaller vessels. R. R. Cooke of the Gulf Oil Trading Company phrased this issue as a question: "Is a large ship more likely to be stranded than a small one? Are two 200,000-ton vessels more likely to collide than forty 15,000-ton ships?" I submit that a deeper draft vessel is more apt to run aground than a smaller tanker. Moreover, it has limited maneuverability and while it has a lower probability of ramming a sister vessel, it is more likely to collide with smaller

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vessels. The real issue, however, is the oil pollution hazard posed by transporting millions of barrels of oil (300 million gals. in the megatanker) in one container. The fact that the container will be compartmented may be of little consolation for catastrophes.

I have estimated, based on the trend of recent years, that a trillion barrels of petroleum will be pumped out of the ground between now and the end of the century. Two-thirds of this total will be tankered and several hundred thousand trips will be required to transport this oil. New tanker routes may be far more hazardous than at present, especially if the Trans-Alaska Pipeline is authorized or the Cordova field is pumped and tankers ply the Strait of Juan de Fuca and passages in Puget Sound. By the year 2000 world tanker traffic will be equivalent to having more than 5000 *Torrey Canyons* always at sea. The pollution potential of such oil at sea is so immense that oil may displace uranium as environmental enemy No. 1.

A series of *Torrey Canyons* or a single megatanker catastrophe could bring demands for restrictions on oil trade which might imperil the US energy lifelines that stretch to South America and will be anchored at the Persian Gulf. Since uranium is being exploited almost to the limit and natural gas is in short supply, the United States might have to resort to exploitation of domestic solid fuels such as coal.

The solid fuel resources of the United States are truly immense – quite adequate to satisfy energy needs for many generations of Americans. But getting them out of the earth is another matter, especially at a price that's attractive and in a way that does not wreck the environment. Here technology comes to the rescue, price-wise, with the massive strip-mine machines which, Paul Bunyan style, rip coal from the earth's surface. Increasingly the coal business has switched to surface or strip-mining, and today about half of all coal produced in the US is stripped from veins lying close to the earth's surface by giant machines.

The overburden of soil and rock is the barrier to getting at the coal seams and earth-movers have met the challenge by building larger and larger shovels and draglines. Thirty years ago these devices moved 30 to 40 cubic yards at a single bite, but the economy of scale prevailed and today a 220-cubic-yard bucket is in operation. Known as *Big Muskie*, the mammoth earth-mover operates in the coal fields of southeastern Ohio, stripping off overburden and dumping it in a spoil bank. It is capable of digging out in a single year a mass of soil and stone equal in size to 15 Pyramids of Cheops.

Throughout the United States the search for ore, whether for coal, copper or other metal, and for sand and gravel has resulted in surface mining which has disturbed over 7 million acres of land. Thus bigness begets badness as man's propensity for altering the earth's surface grows with the size of his tools. The environmental insult is especially pronounced where the strippers leave an exposed steep side (the highwall) to their excavation. It's no wonder that John D. Rockefeller IV, Secretary of State for West Virginia, observed earlier this year: "The highwall is like a knife stuck through a painting."

Man's capacity to make things bigger in the transportation field is confronted with certain natural limits of a technological class. Lack of space limits the passenger car to certain finite size restrictions. In the air the space problem is not a limiting one so far as individual size is concerned; it's mainly a matter of structure and thrust. Here the human payload of aircraft has escalated from the 21-passenger DC-3 of prewar days to the 470-passenger 747. The latter was promised as reducing the cost of a seat-mile, but the fares have increased and airlines are taking to installing spacious lounges to attract customers to half-filled cabins. A "stretched" 600-passenger version of the 747 is contemplated and no doubt would allow reduced fares, but when the first 747 tragedy strikes the undertakers will realize the economy of size.

In the field of space transportation, exclusively the domain of the astronauts, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration developed the mighty Saturn V rocket to boost payloads to the moon. Now that the moon glow has faded, NASA finds itself with a booster which costs $1000 to place a pound of payload in a low earth orbit, which is about the only place it can find for manned missions. Rather than resort to such expensive weight-lifting, NASA is developing an "economical" space shuttle, a reuseable earth-to-orbit ferry system, which promises to bring the cost down to $75 per pound. But this economy of scale becomes available only if the shuttle is exercised on an almost weekly flight schedule. Such earth-to-orbit traffic must be subject to a cost-benefit analysis and I think that any realistic audit of NASA's reckoning will show that the shuttle is not a diseconomy – it is sheer miseconomy, since it will cost $15 billion just to prove out the new system.

Whether we are concerned with the growth of powerplants, tankers, planes, power shovels or space systems, it is far from clear that economies of scale and the thrust to bigness are really profitable, especially if *all* costs are totaled. But the sheer momentum of growth has sufficed to make man exploit new technological opportunities without assaying the full costs in advance. The US Government, not lacking in agencies and bureaus, needs a new Department of Adding Things Up so that the conflicting needs of the economy, the environment and our natural resources may be brought into consonance.

We should not forget that Nature once went on a binge when the climate was 30 degrees hotter and tropics circled the planet. Today, the fossil tracks of the dinosaur remind us of a primitive diseconomy of size.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Mogen David Superstar

Fiddler on the Roof (UA). About 45 seconds into the picture, Tevye the milkman starts his famous number "tradition," and as he sings there are a number of quick cuts of the interior of a synagogue, featuring the Mogen David (Star of David). That's what this show is really about. Not Sholom Aleichem, not *shtetl* life in East Europe; it's about quick heart-tug shots of the Mogen David while a man sings a catchy Harnick-Bock song. No wonder it's been a worldwide theater success: its universalizing sentimentalities defy parochialism. Well, folks, here it comes again – bigger, wider, softer.

Joseph Stein's book for the Broadway musical was an adulteration of Sholom Aleichem, but, once adulterated, Jerome Robbins made a marvelous production out of it, ingeniously staged and choreographed. Robbins' direction is of course now gone, his choreography is "adapted" (some of the good wedding dances are retained), and Boris Aronson's endearing sets have been replaced by a banal "real" village of Anatevka.

Norman Jewison hasn't so much directed a film as prepared a product for world consumption, trying to pet and wheedle this material into the shapes and curlicues of the "classic" movie musical. On a lower scale, this is *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers*, give or take a few brides and allowing for change of venue.

Critically, in fact, that's the most interesting aspect of the film – the way Jewison has carefully balanced two widely disparate elements, the extremely Jewish and the extremely gentile, no middle ground whatsoever, to serve everyone. Molly Picon, the marriage broker, and Zvee Scooler, the rabbi, wallow in Yiddishness as Second Avenue never dared. (Can one call a Yiddish actor a ham?) But when Tzeitel and Motel get Tevye's consent to marry, the young lovers race joyfully through the woods as if their names were Debbie and Tim. I don't contend that young Jewish lovers in Eastern Europe never raced through the woods hand in hand; I do contend that Jewison is saying, "See? Jewish lovers race hand in hand just like other people." This just-like-other-people quality runs all through the film, to make the Jewish audience feel integrated and to bring the gentile audience inside. The Friday night services, the dancing by the stream, the defense of the home, are all given a cosmopolitanizing lacquer of Norman Rockwell.

The score stands or wobbles as it always has, the book comes off somewhat worse. The film runs three hours, plus a 15-minute intermission, and during that intermission, you begin to count the matings of Tevye's daughters that are yet to come and the worked-up expulsion that you have to go through; and you realize that there's no drama, only a series of set-pieces. And since Jewison doesn't have much gift for pathos, some of the set-pieces fall flat: the parting with the radical daughter at the railroad, the parting with the renegade daughter who married a gentile. (Girl Meets Goy.) The best touch in the latter scene is that, as the Russian boy walks away, we see a chessboard dangling from the pack on his back.

Zero Mostel, who was the first Tevye, is not in the film. Whatever one has to say of Zero (who can call him Mostel?), he's ineradicable. Those who never saw him are at an advantage with Topol, the Israeli actor who plays it here. Topol is vigorous and professional, but he's not funny, not deft, not moving, not outrageous, not really a confidant of God – in short, not Zero. When Zero sang "If I Were a Rich Man," we watched the Pentateuch waddle. When Topol sings it, Israeli though he is, it's like Dean Jagger with wig and beard and accent.

Paul Mann, as the butcher, looks good, but his voice is too thin for his bulk and his hands, as usual, work in simultaneous gestures, two doing the work of one or, sometimes, what ought to be none. Rosalind Harris, the very Semitic-looking Tzeitel, is charming. But by far the best performance is that of Leonard Frey as her lover Motel. He's an *actor*. He was the ugly birthday boy in *The Boys in the Band*, on stage and screen, and I've also seen him as Harry the Hoofer in the Beaumont Theater's production of *The Time of Your Life*. Frey is an *actor*. Adjectives have become so stale in this business that, for him, I italicize the noun.

WR – Mysteries of the Organism (Cinema 5). This is the second film by the Yugoslav, Dusan Makavejev, since his very good *Love Affair* (*NR*, Feb. 17, 1968), and both of the latter ones are disappointing. *Innocence Unprotected*, seen last year, put an old film in a new context and might have made an amusing 20-minute short. This new picture is a collage of materials on the subject of Wilhelm Reich – interviews in his former Maine home, interviews with sexually eccentric New Yorkers, and a fictional sequence in Belgrade, all tending to the thesis of sexual fulfillment as essential to true revolution. The movement of the film is centrifugal where it ought to be centripetal. It doesn't build, it merely splatters.

One notable point is that, like *Love Affair*, it shows puritanism leading to murder. In the earlier picture a Yugoslav Marxist murders his errant Hungarian mistress; here a sober Soviet

(continued on page 38)

Films Worth Seeing

Carnal Knowledge. Mike Nichols has invested a lot of good direction; and Jack Nicholson some good acting, in Jules Feiffer's two-dimensional script about tail-chasing US males.

Desperate Characters. Best film on this list. Shirley MacLaine and Kenneth Mars as a contemporary liberal bourgeois – therefore beleaguered – couple. Frank D. Gilroy wrote and directed. Don't miss.

The French Connection. Whammo. A thriller that really thrills – about drugs in Marseilles and New York. Topnotch cast, jet-line direction by William Friedkin.

The Go-Between. 1900 England is lovely to look at. Script is portentous but vacuous. Good performances, through, from all except Julie Christie. Joseph Losey directed well, for a change.

Sunday Bloody Sunday. Glenda Jackson's performance and Penelope Gilliatt's dialogue make this enjoyable. But John Schlesinger's direction is far below *Midnight Cowboy*, and this tale of a hetero-homo triangle is much manner and little matter.

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Updike on the Present

Rabbit Redux
by John Updike

(Knopf; $7.95)

Last year, in *Mr. Sammler's Planet*, Saul Bellow attempted to analyze the chaos of the present. His novel is distinguished by intellectual cogency, but the narrative from which he draws his inferences is lamentably inadequate to the energy of his denunciation. Also a study of contemporary problems, John Updike's new book, *Rabbit Redux*, offers far more compelling a plot and characters, but it disappoints precisely where Bellow is strong: in fathoming causes and asserting judgments.

Both novels focus on heroes who have survived an age that puts them out of step with its successor. Both see the new period as one of unbridled permissiveness. But whereas Mr. Sammler clearly expresses his author's own strictures, Updike's hero exhibits the problem as much as he is repelled by it.

At the beginning of the novel, Rabbit is a diminution of his former self. Starting, in *Rabbit, Run*, as a man in conflict with his culture, he has become, in the sequel, a perfect example of its repressiveness. Ten years older now, he has lost the nickname-emblem of his former vitality; he has become Harry, "pale and sour." Gone are the hopes of truth to self and God, that, baleful in their effects, were nonetheless inspiring in their fervor. Harry has settled into a mediocre job, a sterile marriage, a tired acceptance of all the second-rateness he once tried to flee. Through guilt at his youthful rebelliousness, he has become meanly conservative ("I once took the inner light trip and all I did was bruise my surroundings. Revolution, or whatever, is just a way of saying a mess is fun."). Because his attempted flight produced his daughter's death, he no longer hopes to fly. Personally exhausted, he can only summon enthusiasm now for the power of the State. To him the Vietnam War is a flaccid society's last sign of commitment. Self-contempt and boredom have, through a kind of reaction formation, turned him into a chauvinist.

By a deliberate reversal of his original plot, Updike hurls this burnt-out case into contemporaneity. The earlier book began with Rabbit's escape from marriage; this novel begins with his wife's. Janice has now found a lover who holds out the same promise of sensual fulfillment that Rabbit once pursued. But whereas possessiveness and fear of scandal had caused Janice and her family to fight Rabbit's decision, Harry is now too passive to repay the compliment. So Janice bolts, leaving him, as he had earlier left her, to tend their house and son.

In the earlier book, after he leaves Janice, Rabbit is taken by his coach to a restaurant where he meets the loose-living Ruth. The two then set up house and fall in love. Rabbit infuses the cynical Ruth with some of his own hopefulness, but the affair ends badly. In *Rabbit Redux* a black coworker takes the hero to a bar, where he meets a loose-living hippie from Suburbia. Jill and Harry also set up house, this time in Harry's home. The affair ends even more tragically, and Harry never helps the girl. Now it is the female rather than the male who tries to rouse the loved one from lethargy. Though Harry can feel a renewal of sexuality that had been quelled in his marriage, he can neither embrace Jill's hippie ethos nor her love.

The third part of *Rabbit, Run* is essentially a debate between Rabbit and Reverend Eccles, a false apostle of pharisaical humanism. But Rabbit's authenticity proves too vital for the pale cleric, whose dialectical net the hero breaks through. In *Rabbit Redux* the interlocutor is a black revolutionary friend of Jill's, in flight from police pursuing him on a drug charge. This section of the novel is both more powerful than anything Updike has written and more terrifying a picture of social tension than Bellow shows in his collection of caricature vices and farcical pecadillos.

Watched by the girl and Harry's son, the black man, Skeeter, and the white enter a love-hate relationship that ends in tragedy. Skeeter holds Harry in thrall to his own rage and hatred for America through long evenings in which Harry begins to take on the marks of hippie and black. The flamboyant Skeeter sees Vietnam as an apocalyptic result of America's evil, which will be succeeded by a "great *calm*," and then by black hegemony. To all this, Harry listens attentively, finally reading Skeeter tracts on black triumph and producing literally orgiastic pleasure in his guest.

Along with this intellectual seduction goes the sexual brutalization of Jill by Skeeter, which Harry watches. The girl had fled her suburban home with the help of a lover who hooked her on drugs so that she could, in her hallucinations, help him to see God. Realizing itself first in acts of perverse sexuality in which he demands Jill's participation, Skeeter's racial rage finally brings her back to the drugged stupor she had originally tried to escape. Yet Harry does not try to prevent Skeeter from hooking Jill, much less admit to himself that this is the terrible drama transpiring in his home. Nor does he prevent the black from flaunting his power over Jill before the neighbors, though that eventually ignites the fiery hatred which claims both Jill's life and Harry's dwelling. Instead, Harry drives Skeeter to safety when the fire is being investigated, thus keeping the man from falling victim to the same racist fury that cost Jill her life.

The last section of the novel introduces Harry's sister, Mim, formerly the embodiment of innocence but here a sage of cynicism. Mim sleeps with Janice's lover, thus helping to break up the affair; but Janice, who had always predicted that it could not end in marriage, decides, on her own, to return to Harry. The novel ends with husband and wife wanly reconciled, in connubial sleep, Skeeter and Jill consigned to oblivion, and a tentative "OK?" addressed by Updike to the reader.

This "OK?" suggests that Updike knows how great a risk he has taken in this book by telling a dreadful story and yet refusing to express rage or dread at its conclusion. He has documented the crisis of the present more movingly than Bellow; it is arguable that were he to join Bellow in expressing judgment and a more positive prescription, the very power of his story would render the attempt unconvincing. When all this has been acknowledged, however, Updike remains too mute about questions of motivation to keep

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Rabbit Redux from having the dispiriting effect of a sordid story that is told to no clear purpose.

The questions arise in Part II, after Updike has established his hero, cut him loose from his past and faced him with the possibility of coming back to life. We understand that sexual desire impels Harry to take Jill home with him, just as we understand that spiritual exhaustion can only allow him to toy with the idea of loving her. But as his failure with Jill escalates into active collusion in destroying her, his motivation becomes less clear. Why, for example, does he allow Skeeter to stay? When the man appears, Harry is drawn into a brawl with him. Then, on an impulse that even surprises Jill, he reverses his attitude. More importantly, what are we to think of Skeeter and, consequently, of Harry's domination by him?

If we judge by the plot, Skeeter is an even more dangerous teacher than Reverend Eccles, whom Rabbit, to his credit, resisted. Considering Skeeter's apparent motives, isn't Harry to be condemned for his greater susceptibility in this case? Skeeter seems less interested in changing the world than in playing out a psychodrama in which Harry is forced to atone for white racism by voluntarily witnessing the humiliation and destruction of a white woman by a black man. Why does Harry watch this so willingly? Why, doesn't he eject Skeeter, since not only Jill but his son fears the man? Unacknowledged national guilt may predispose him to hear Skeeter out, but what dark bond draws him into nearly sexual identification with his sinister guest? Emotional exhaustion both accounts for and partially excuses his acceptance of an atmosphere of polymorphous perversity, but does Jill really seem to want this as much as Harry thinks she does or is he shamefully trying to escape that minimum of responsibility we feel for another human being, even without love? And what explains his failure to recognize that Skeeter is hooking Jill, despite the many hints that she and the child provide? Perhaps he hates Jill, who is upper-class, out of a resentment parallel to Skeeter's resentment of whites (one scene suggests this); perhaps he sacrifices her to his own yearning to recontact God (there are also clues to this); perhaps, like America itself, he is merely an exhausted being who can only be quickened by cruelty? We can never quite sort these possibilities out. When Harry protects Skeeter after Jill's death, even Skeeter expresses bewilderment about the hero's motive.

This obscurity makes Updike's final refusal to pass judgment particularly disturbing. In the last scene of *Rabbit, Run*, after his behavior has also brought disastrous results, Rabbit disclaims responsibility for the death of his child. This we accept not only because, as in *Rabbit Redux*, he did not literally perform the crime, but because the characters and the motives ranged against him justify his denial. They are inspired by vindictiveness and egotism rather than ethics; even in his selfish destructiveness, Rabbit is more moral than they in their moralistic conformity. But in *Rabbit Redux* Harry has no connection with anything that might be called a value, and his victim is more nearly his responsibility than the baby he barely saw in the earlier book.

Hence the refusal to determine the moral significance of the terrible events is Updike's and not his hero's. Indeed, Harry himself feels guilty for Jill's death, but the fourth part of the novel seems to resist his impulse to shame. Its primary functions are resolution of the plot and expression, through Mim and even Janice, of a bleak desolating imperturbability. Janice tells Harry that "Not everything is [his] fault," but we are not sure exactly what was. After having had his life transformed by the highlights of contemporary discord (Vietnam, racism, drugs, hippies), Harry can only assert that "utter confusion" is "just a local view of things working out in general." When the Angstroms are reconciled, they refer to Skeeter and Jill as items that settle a moral score (the baby's death paid by the girl's), but surely Jill and Skeeter mean more than fortuitous renovation of the crumbling household.

Though we know from life that these figures are portentous, in the novel they merely illustrate a general malaise, the causes of which are barely explored. In *Rabbit Redux* Updike absorbs into his fiction some of the chief sources of our discontent and distills them into characters realistically impelled by conflicting motives. However, refusing to sort out the motives or to explain the discontent, he leaves us as baffled and dispirited as the age itself.

This is to pay no small compliment. But, can we settle for analysis in excess of narrative power, as in Bellow, or the reverse, as in Updike? Since both men have had their greatest successes in fathoming more intimate relations, shorn of the largest historical dimension, they suggest that warnings against realism in so chaotic a period may be well taken. So one puts down a book like *Rabbit Redux* moved, respectful of the writer's bravery, but still waiting for the perhaps impossible novel that will not only show us how we live now but also why we live in this awful way.

Charles Thomas Samuels

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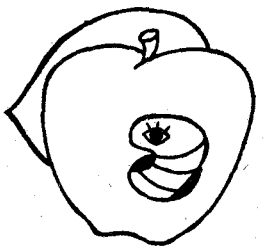

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The Relevance of Books on Relevance

The Creative Classroom: Teaching without Textbooks by Henry F. Beechhold

(Scribners; $8.95)

The Relevance of Education by Jerome S. Bruner

(Norton; $5.95)

Popular commentators on education have lofted the misconception that for significant reform it is simply necessary to crush down the massive public educational structure that has been built up over the decades – crush it down with perception and wit. There is little attention to rebuilding anything of worth and strength and even less to the larger questions of politics and economics upon which a rebuilding must rest.

Thus we have seen in recent years the publication of a great number of popular books on education, whose authors – their first effort established in the field – go on to become counter-establishment or anti-establishment gurus or heavies, commanding huge audiences and lecture fees and whose later essays, singly and collected, and books get published almost as a matter of course. For example, the *New York Review of Books* cannot seem to resist printing whatever trivial thing on schools (or anything else) that Paul Goodman has on his mind. And books from Postman and Weingartner – founded in the twin gospels of Hayakawa and McLuhan – flow off the presses in ever increasing and oppressing numbers.

Few books make a contribution of any depth: *Letter to a Teacher* by the Schoolboys of Barbiana, James Herndon's *How to Survive in Your Native Land*, Elwyn Richardson's *In the Early World*, Paul Lauter and Florence Howe's *The Conspiracy of the Young*, Joseph Featherstone's *Schools Where Children Learn*, and essays from time to time in *This Magazine is About Schools* stand out because of the depth and principledness of their criticism and construction. Most other books and essays are either smart or sweet or both, but otherwise so limited as to be quite useless.

At first glance these books by Bruner and Beechhold seem to fall into the higher category, but in fact they do not. Bruner hits all around education but finally says nothing of its relevance; Beechhold ends up writing the very kind of textbook he means to put down.

Jerome Bruner broke into the field just over a decade ago with his *Process of Education*, a report on the 1959 Woods Hole gathering of scientists, scholars and educationists, which sent American education spiraling down the sideroad of curriculum reform. After curricular years he settled down with problems of the child's acquisition of knowledge. Now he is leaving all this, and Harvard too, for England and Oxford to pursue his earlier interests in animal behavior, a regression from schools to infants to neonates to primates.

The Relevance of Education is a collection of essays written by Bruner between 1964 and 1970 in which he is mostly concerned to talk of what is known about how children acquire knowledge, how what we know of that acquisition could feed into how we go about educating children, and about the problems of culture and politics in which an education exists. The returns realized from his discussions, always slight, diminish mightily as we proceed along these three concerns. For the essays are testimony to the fact that we know little about how a child learns those things that he is innately predisposed to learn, e.g., his language, except that he learns them and that the structure of mind he is endowed with constrains the task severely and ensures that knowledge is consistent from child to child. In all but the most rudimentary details our understanding of how knowledge is acquired is dim.

It is hard then to see how we can translate our limited understanding into procedures for educating children. We know that learning what mathematics or physics or history is is quite different from learning one's language or the social constraints and rules operating in one's culture. The latter we learn through simple exposure; but exposure to numbers and the natural world does not give us mathematics or physics even as exposure to language does not yield us linguistics. Bruner seems not to distinguish, however; everything is indiscriminately in the education bag.

But it is when Bruner leaves off discussing the psychology of education and enters into the important questions of the politics and economics of education that he ceases to be of any relevance whatsoever. For example, in an essay entitled "Culture, Politics, and Pedagogy" he places, without justification or explanation, the following constraints on a theory of instruction or pedagogy:

> A theory of instruction is a political theory in the proper sense that it derives from consensus concerning the distribution of power within the society – who shall be educated and to fulfill what roles? In the very same sense, pedagogical theory must surely derive from a conception of economics, for where there is division of labor within the society and an exchange of goods and services for wealth and prestige, then *how* people are educated and in what number and with what constraints on the use of resources are all relevant issues. The psychologist or educator who formulates pedagogical theory without regard to the political, economic, and social setting of the educational process courts triviality and merits being ignored in the community and in the classroom.

But why should a theory of instruction take as its limits the economic and political status quo? Might it not better operate in ways that would lead people away from thinking in terms of channeling students into fixed roles, of reinforcing economic class structure? An educator who formulates pedagogical

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theory without a vision of what society can be merits being ignored by the community and courts being put down as an educational engineer.

Bruner does in fact have a vision of a possible new world, but his analysis is so simple that he would be better off not mentioning the matter. Thus he argues that if underclass parents only cared enough to exert influence on their local schools and elected school committees, then things would improve. But that is certainly wrong. Consider, for example, a hypothetical case, a city in which there are just two school districts, the Peabody and the Roberts. The parents in the Peabody district are by and large academic or professional, well-educated upper-middle-class folks with at most three children to the family. The Roberts district parents are underemployed or unemployed, their families are large, and they have not finished high school or if they have, their training was vocational in the useless way in which public schools define that term.

Now the fact that the Peabody school is a better school than the Roberts is hardly a function of one set of parents caring and the other set not, of one set being well-organized, the other not. The Peabody school is better (this is not to say that it is in any absolute sense good) because the school reflects well the socioeconomic class freedom that its parents have and that its children will grow up to have. And in fact the parents will exert very little direct influence on the school, the school simply serving their class well just as the Roberts school serves its parents and pupils "well," according to their class freedom and chances in society, or lack thereof.

Now some things will annoy the Peabody parents, but these can be corrected with a simple phone call. But for the Roberts parents to remake their school over into a Peabody school would not only take a long-term, organized fight. It would require that they believe society is a different thing from what it is.

In China, for example, the schools have come to reflect the new Chinese society, where work and study move together to improve the conditions of life for all. (See Keith Buchanan, *The Transformation of the Chinese Earth*, Chapter 14.) But this is the premise on which life and economics and politics in China rest. In the absence of that premise, in a society which divorces work and study, which lives by the profit motive, education is hard pressed to offer alternative views of what a life of a people can be.

Bruner writes so well and easily, the sentences read so well that a reader can be easily misled into believing that there is substance there. Beechhold will mislead no one with his writing prowess: "Naïf I am to hope that the educational enterprise would have escaped the diseases that wrack other enterprises, and it is probably fatuous of me to proclaim my disillusionment." So he begins, and continues for 300 pages. The burden of his book is quite simple and noncontroversial:

– textbooks are bad, least-common-denominator things to which teachers are chained because

– teachers know very little, least of all how to free themselves from textbooks; therefore

– teachers must learn to free themselves from textbooks through knowledge and by being able to open up the classroom to dealing in substantive questions.

Simple enough. The problem with Beechhold lies in his own book: shot through with wrong information, half-information, unfocused discussion questions that lead not at all to clear thinking, and especially unsubstantiated pronouncements:

> Despite the fact that English spelling fits the spoken word rather badly, it is teachable and need not be preceded by the ITA (Initial Teaching Alphabet), though the ITA system does have its partisans and its advantages [unspecified].

Problems with this pronouncement:

– English spelling fits the spoken word quite well – a matter that has been discussed extensively over the last few years (see my discussion of this, for example, in the *American Heritage Dictionary*);

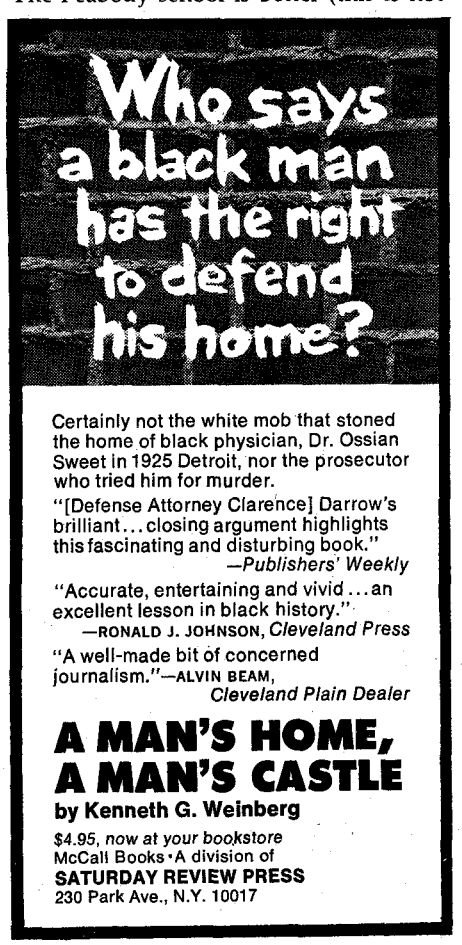
– though English spelling is learnt, no one knows how to teach it;

– there is a growing body of research that indicates that children, at the ages when they are learning to read, have developed phonological perceptions – different from those of adults – that are very much in accord with what is represented in ITA.

The question of whether or not ITA would be useful in teaching reading is thus at least an open one, one on which research has been done and will continue to be done. It is simply wrong to close it – as Beechhold does – without explanation, nor is his closing it thus in accord with his notion of a classroom full of enlightened discussion. If he is willing to close discussion around questions which are at least capable of being well-formulated, we can only wonder what travesty of rational inquiry he would allow to unravel itself around the many muddy textbook questions that fill his book.

For I am afraid that Beechhold's grasp of intellectual inquiry and controversy is exactly that of the usual textbook-maker: unsubstantiated and unargued positions, these being allowed to exist amidst recognition that there are quite opposed positions – ones that are well-argued. Beechhold seems to feel that it is enough to recognize that the world doesn't agree with him, that this can be dealt with in a phrase like "but this is an issue that need not concern us here." Teaching without textbooks in a creative classroom is going to demand a lot more than this if the textbookless classroom is not simply going to be more of the same thing that we already have. Bruner, at least, will have none of that; nor will I. About Beechhold I'm not too sure.

Wayne O'Neil



Certainly not the white mob that stoned the home of black physician, Dr. Ossian Sweet in 1925 Detroit, nor the prosecutor who tried him for murder.

"[Defense Attorney Clarence] Darrow's brilliant... closing argument highlights this fascinating and disturbing book."
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Notable

The Wild Boys: A Book of the Dead by William S. Burroughs

(Grove Press; $5.95)

Employing somewhat less frenetic versions of his by now familiar cinematic, "cut-up" method of narration, William Burroughs introduces his raunchy, funky wild boys – successors to the nova mob of his earlier novels – for our amusement and delectation. *Narration* is too strong a word; Burroughs intends something like a literary equivalent of a film composed largely of nostalgic memory-stills and brief copulatory movement, flick and flash.

The narrative and visual elements are far too few to sustain a novel; in fact it is not too much to say the elements congeal into a single one: buggery, in an endlessly repeated, almost static scene, compulsively recalled, and decked out in virtually unchanging idolatrous, lyricized prose though the actors sometimes change – in effect, hymns to sodomy, theme and variations. In the end we are left with two impressions: the first the frozen image of a boy, all boys, apotheosized as the BOY heroically buggering or himself being well and truly buggered; and the second of wild boys spilling out of populous cities of the Near East and Latin America to the primeval hinterlands, where as guerilla packs, a devolved "humanoid subspecies," they launch raids against repressive straight society. In this blue sci-fi future, love "means nothing at all . . . just a feeling between the legs, a sort of tingle" and "all dogmatic verbal systems" have been destroyed, giving way to animal grunts and growls understood by wild boys the world over.

Suspect Tenderness: The Ethics of the Berrigan Witness by William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston; $5.95)

There is a marvelous picture of two FBI agents arresting Dan Berrigan. The agent who is clutching Berrigan's left arm is wearing a suit and white

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shirt and a tie which seems to choke at his neck; he looks stern and angry. The agent who is clutching Berrigan's right arm is dressed like a birdwatcher, his disguise as he crouched in the bushes outside the home of Anthony Towne and William Stringfellow on Block Island, R.I., where Berrigan was – hiding or waiting? He looks tense and fearful. Berrigan is handcuffed; he smiles in utter jubilation.

Berrigan's crime wasn't eluding the government agents, but living outside the government's authority, under a higher moral power. It sounds like old stuff, reminiscent of Jesus Christ. Towne, a poet, and Stringfellow, a lawyer and lay theologian, don't say Berrigan is a Christ but they *do* say Christ and Berrigan are the same sort of criminals. Christians do both an injustice by saying that the State framed a case against them or denied them due process or otherwise pilloried them for crimes not committed. Berrigan *did* commit a crime. By his witness – by his unceasing nonviolent assaults against the government's war machine – he transcended fear of death, which Towne, Stringfellow and Berrigan consider the State's ultimate power. The Resurrection is a blatant statement that there is a power beyond the State. Which is why Berrigan is a most dangerous criminal.

Towne and Stringfellow were charged with harboring and concealing a criminal, but a federal court dismissed the charges. *Suspect Tenderness* chronicles Berrigan's escapade on the island and Towne and Stringfellow's prosecution, then reaches back to some old sermons to provide a sense of what the Berrigan witness means. It sounds ponderous, but their sermons share some of Berrigan's joy.

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Flannery O'Connor: The Complete Stories

(Farrar, Straus and Giroux; $10.00)

Poor Rayber. Every time he goes to the barber he has to defend his liberal politics before a cluster of hostile townsmen. And every time he loses the argument. After voting in the primary he decides to go to a new barber, but on his first visit he finds himself trapped into answering questions like "You a nigger-lover?" and "You a Mother Hubbard?" He fumes inwardly, not at the men, but at himself for being unable to muster the courage, eloquence and logic that would easily win the men over to a rational view. After all, he tells himself, he is a college professor – he knows how to work with words and ideas. At last, in desperation, he decides that the only way to defeat a barber is to launch a serious campaign: he prepares a speech for his next haircut. It takes several days of writing, rephrasing, and practicing, and it sets the barbershop rolling with laughter. Flannery O'Connor merely observes, "It is trying on liberals in Dilton."

"The Barber" is one of her seven early stories printed here in collection for the first time, along with 24 more familiar pieces. Its theme is a favorite of O'Connor's; like the town in the story, she is usually hard on liberals. They appear in her work as schoolteachers, aspiring writers or social workers, people who can't tell the difference between rubbish and tradition, but are eager to start cleaning up. They tend to run afoul of complicated, irrational forces that drive them, like Rayber, to frustration. Typically, O'Connor named one of her novels *The Violent Bear It Away*, and in the short story "A Good Man is Hard to Find," she has the good man turn out to be an escaped convict who murders a family. Her conviction that some of the truest voices are the most brutal has led some readers to call her fiction exaggerated. Others just say it's powerful.

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Reconsiderations

The Companionate Marriage

It is early in the year 1927. Judge Benjamin Barr Lindsey sits in his chambers in the Juvenile and Family Court of Denver listening to unhappy persons seeking divorces, detailing all the varieties of their marital woes: they married too quickly, or out of fright, or before they had discovered deep physical or psychic incompatibilities. They are caught in the stocks of the twentieth century's stringent divorce laws or worse, in thundering church dictates about chastity, monogamy, fidelity, illegality and immorality of birth control, and the holy necessity of procreation.

The Companionate Marriage
by Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Wainright Evans

Boni & Liveright, 1927.

(out of print)

At fifty-eight, Lindsey is a courtly, gentlemanly fellow, who always refers to his wife as Mrs. Lindsey, and whose book two years earlier, *The Revolt of Modern Youth*, was greeted with moral indignation and demands from the Ku Klux Klan "and the Klergy", as he prefers to spell them, that he be ousted from his office. The book was a modest attempt to explain the behavior of flappers and flaming youth to the perplexed middle-aged, and the indignation greeting it a tribute to the home truths it told.

While he advises and then, in his professional capacity, legislates, Ben Lindsey is gathering evidence for a new book, *The Companionate Marriage*. It will be crammed full of disguised case-histories; it intends to explain *middle-aged* marital dilemmas to the young, the predicaments of those already caught by the custom of their time regarding marriage, unable to free themselves from an unworkable and unbearable code of conduct. With all its stylistic faults – its inordinate length, its heavy Germanic use of capital letters for emphasis of every important noun, the excessive use of anecdote and disjointed pursuit of ideas – it is destined to be a best-seller. It will startle and horrify some, console others, be reviewed well in some quarters (this journal, *Nation*, *The New York Times*) and attacked in others (*The Springfield Republican* disliked the "disbalance between facts and the striking and the startling").

The Denver judge was, in his time and retrospectively still is, twenty-five years after his death, a courageous and progressive social critic. At the end of *The Companionate Marriage* he wrote: "I have a profound conviction that what may seem radical in this book will be the conservatism of tomorrow." Some of it does and is, but what strikes the re-reader at this distance is his courage in the face of the united opposition of church and state, his espousal of values, some of which are still at bay in the seventies. While the KKK no longer threatens his liberal social inheritors with unemployment, the klergy are still actively at work in the Christian churches, making texts of birth control, divorce, and the newest of the unholy trinity, abortion.

What was Lindsey's social heresy? Companionate, rather than traditional or "family," marriage. What was it? "Legal marriage, with legalized Birth Control, and with the right to divorce by mutual consent for childless couples, usually without the payment of alimony." He took great pains to distinguish companionate marriage from trial marriage, by which he meant not the contemporary phrase for an unmarried union but rather "a technically legal marriage which was entered with the intention that it shall be, not an enduring union, but merely a temporary sex episode." It was "the psychology of impermanence" which he held against trial marriage, in the same way that he opposed "free love" because its intentions were not "to weather all storms and make port." He acknowledged that all three had elements in common, but the difference lay in the resolution of companionate partners to make the union work. He recognized risks in his proposal, but he felt it gave marriage a good chance of success. It provided a line of retreat in case of failure as well as the safety-valves of birth control and the possibility of divorce.

To shore up this simple proposal, Ben Lindsey wrote a ponderous, overblown book. Often his role as narrator-hero interfered with his gospel, for he brooded over his decameron of marital horror tales like a kindly, compassionate, omnipresent *deus ex machina*. The book abused every rhetoric technique – ad hominem attack, example, enthymeme, glittering generality, subjective generalization – and overused points of punctuation – the exclamation mark, the capital letter, the italic – to make clear its intent. While it proposed it disposed, and the list of holy institutions under attack was long: the ruinous concept of chastity in America, coercion by custom and the state against divorce, the social dependence of most Americans on their backgrounds of received tradition (a fault as much of the younger generation as of their elders), the falsity of universal anti-birth control legislation in the face of increasing human suffering and overpopulation.

Marital attitudes, he recognized, were societal rather than natural. He wanted his readers to free themselves from these cultural "detriments." Convinced as he was that monogamous marriage is the ideal marriage, his counselling had persuaded him that this was true only if the marriage was entered into in a free, unrestricted, sincere, and open way, and only if built-in escape hatches came with it as standard equipment.

Social custom and the false attitudes it engendered were major Lindsey's villains. Another was the Christian churches. Notre-Dame educated, he was to be struck again and again in his later life by the damage they had done, and horrified by their attitudes toward birth control ("I haven't the slightest objection to Roman Catholics and others abstaining from birth control themselves, if they think it sinful. What I cannot understand is their fixed determination to force this fanaticism on the American nation") and toward sex in general: "The Christian churches, thundering down the ages against 'the sinful lusts of the flesh' have, by suppressing sex outside of procreative marriage, given it an abnormal importance within marriage."

He labelled as destructive the Church's

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS
DORIS GRUMBACH *has published three novels, and one book of criticism on Mary McCarthy.* WAYNE O'NEIL *teaches humanities and linguistics at* MIT. CHARLES THOMAS SAMUELS' The Ambiguity of Henry James *has just been published by the University of Illinois Press.*

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insistence upon the sacramental and indissoluble nature of marriage. "Religion consists in putting oneself in harmony with reality," he wrote. But the churches, uninterested in the realities of the marital condition, forced couples into despair and hypocrisy by "holy matrimony and the laws governing it." Delivering the coup-de-grace to the "sacramental poppycock that has been sanctified by the Christian Churches," Lindsey quoted from a letter he had received: "The persecution to which you are being subjected is supplying me with evidence for my favorite theme, that religion is the chief enemy of kindliness and decency in the modern world." Signed, Bertrand Russell.

Lindsey knew that companionate marriage was already being practiced secretly by some well-to-do, enlightened, and well-educated persons, those able, in case of failure, to obtain skilled legal assistance for collusive divorces, but he looked forward to a time when its benefits (with the legalization of birth control and the easing of divorce laws) would be extended to the poor and to the socially unfit "who need it most." To that end, fearful that the poor would continue to be kept from contraceptive information by restrictive legislation, he provided the street and city address of Margaret Sanger's Birth Control League in the body of his text and urged his readers to write for information. "I cannot indicate the methods here simply because it is against the law for me to do so," he wrote, a confession that today moves the reader by its poignancy.

He would have liked to see companionate marriage given legal sanction, marking it off sharply from procreative or "family" marriage. For, after the fact of children, he saw no justification for divorce under any terms, and would not have permitted his Companionate Marriage Bill to apply to people with children.

Lindsey's book rings with the absolute conviction that, given legal provision for the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage, readily available birth control information, and the disappearance of "gold-digger" alimony demands, marriage as an institution might well succeed. Forty-four years later, however, the statistics of divorce and marriage inform us that with the easing of divorce laws, universal acceptance (practically if not canonically speaking) of birth control, the divorce rate in the late sixties has risen sharply. Marriages, too, have increased – 300,000 more a year in the sixties than the fifties, but *half of these are remarriages.* Lindsey's hope that he could legislate for enduring union never had a trial. Now we face a new variable: the incredibly rapid motion of human institutions. We are being told that in the future men and women will marry over and over again, to suit their new longevity and their changed status at each period in their lives.

Lindsey would have regarded Alvin Toffler's prediction (in *Future Shock*) that marriage is now fated to be "temporary" as a sad denial of his ideal of happy monogamous marriage. Like everything else in our seventies-culture, marriages will enter the re-cycling process, will be short-lived and serial – a pattern of successive temporary legalities to suit the convenience of the age of transience. The new harmonies with reality would have horrified the Judge; he hoped for something permanent, he even hoped to reason and legislate it into existence.

Doris Grumbach

Correspondence

EEOC

Sirs:

Your excellent editorial "Equal Opportunities" (October 30) summed up very well the Hawkins-Reid formula to put some clout into enforcement by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. House opponents wrote Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. House opponents wrote into the bill the "Erlenborn Amendment" by a scant 202-to-197 rollcall, but the Senate Committee has at this writing reinstated the more practical, more effective Hawkins-Reid formula. This move has the vigorous support of Senator Harrison Williams (D, NJ), Chairman of the Senate Committee. Prospects for favorable action in House-Senate Conference Committee are excellent.

The spotlight on this legislation has been on racial aspects, and rightly so. The National Education Association and other teacher organizations would support it on that basis alone. But this legislation is also related to the less-publicized but deep-rooted discrimination against women in education. In most American professional activity women have greatly improved their

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status in recent years, but not in education – the profession which traditionally was most open to women. This Bill extends EEOC to public employees, including teachers. The long battle against sex discrimination as well as against racial discrimination will be strengthened if EEOC now gets a new set of teeth.

Monroe Sweetland
National Education Association
Burlingame, Calif.

Democrats

Sirs:

The New Republic of October 23 ("One for O'Brien") did not mention the very active role of UAW President Leonard Woodcock and of our Washington-based political action director Bill Dodds on behalf of Harold Hughes for Democratic National Committee Credentials Committee Chairman. You thus preserve the monolithic image of "organized labor," usually meaning the AFL-CIO. Despite the unity on national health security legislation and the Nixon-forced unity against his wage freeze, the UAW and the AFL-CIO have a variety of differences.

Paul Schrade, Director
UAW, Western Division Six

Attica

Sirs:

You complain ("Order and Attica," Oct. 23) that Mr. Dalglish finds "astounding" your assumption that "the legal order in the United States is legitimate and entitled to maintain itself." That assumption is not astounding; it is a valid assumption but completely irrelevant as far as Attica is concerned. The Attica prisoners were not demanding the overthrow of the legal order (or even the penal system) of the United States. They were demanding the basic right to live as human beings within the penal system. If I were to quibble with Mr. Dalglish about anything in his letter it would be his use of the term "reasonable," in describing the means chosen by the Attica prisoners. Their means were indeed reasonable in the sense that peaceful petitions had brought no redress of legitimate grievances, but only obfuscation and procrastination. The means were "unreasonable" in the sense that the prisoners apparently believed they were dealing with authorities who could afford to be much more reasonable than themselves, but who were really intent upon showing how tough they could be. But in the broader sense of the word, Mr. Dalglish is right. We believe the signers of the Declaration of Independence were reasonable men when they undertook to commit treason and rebellion after their peaceful petitions could not secure a redress of grievances.

I would add one thought regarding the matter of amnesty. Legal considerations aside, I presume the prisoners believed that Governor Rockefeller had the authority to grant amnesty. Could he not, then, have offered amnesty to facilitate the release of the hostages and then recanted afterwards if he felt there were compelling reasons to do so? Of course, it would have risked committing an act of bad faith or telling a lie, which is deplorable

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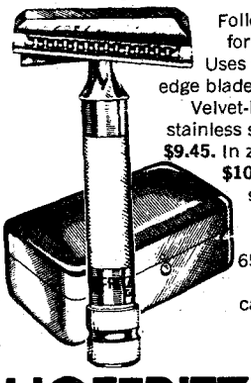

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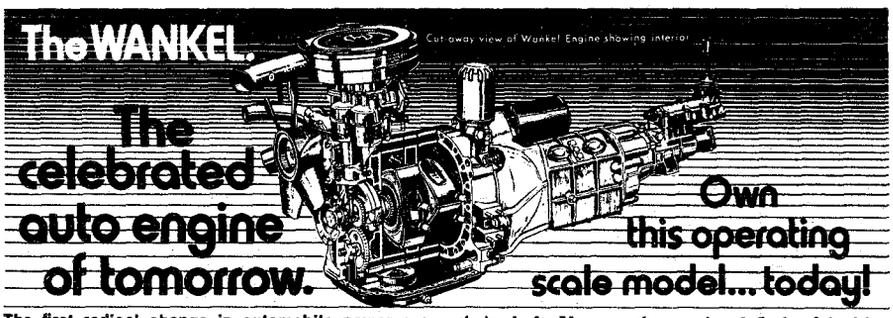

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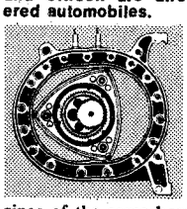

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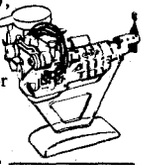

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indeed. . . . Some might argue that deception would undermine the confidence and trust which the prisoners should have in the good faith and dependability of state officials. I dare say that the slaughter at Attica has left little such trust on the part of prisoners and guards alike.

George J. Bernstein
Park Forest, Illinois

Ritalin

Sirs:

Mr. Charles states the facts and states them well. ("The Case of Ritalin," Oct. 23). However, I suggest that his emphasis on the potentially "dangerous" qualities of Ritalin is misleading. The fundamental issue is that "hyperkinetic syndrome" or "minimal brain dysfunction" are not illnesses in any scientific sense. There is no evidence of any anatomical or physiological abnormalities in so-called hyperkinetic children. To ascribe the difficulty to an undetectable brain injury is no more than a rhetorical device which permits the redefinition of the troublesome conduct as a medical problem and promotes medical treatment. Thus, the HEW panel which cautioned that the diagnosis requires a specialist is only further validating the need for medical authority. The panel fails to note that any "diagnosis" requires first the existence in fact of some illness.

As Mr. Charles notes, our public schools are beset with enormous social and financial problems. The medicalization of restlessness in school children is only one small part of the manufacture of scapegoats in society, today carried on vigorously in the name of mental health. Children are, of course, a traditional victim in society but they are certainly not alone. Under the guiding myth that something called "mental illness" exists in scientific fact (rather than as a metaphor), new scapegoats for our problems in living continue to be found. All that is required is the redefinition of troublesome conduct as a form of mental illness or its sympton. The unwanted aged, the drug addict, the homosexual, the criminal – these are some of the other victims of the modern therapeutic state.

Martin D. Capell
Syracuse, N.Y.

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Kauffmann, *from page 28*

Marxist murders a too-eager Yugoslav girl. But what had character and even political insight before is only grotesque here.

Makavejev is clearly trying to find new film shapes, pushing at conventional forms the way some modern painters push and tug at the two-dimensional canvas. But, just as clearly, he needs some sort of logical, disciplined story on which to improvise. Improvisations alone, even as variations on a theme, are a seductive drug to him.

Medea (New Line). Pier Paolo Pasolini continues his descent into the slough of artiness. The poet of the gutter, as in *Accatone*, is now the poet-aster of the sublime. He has a superb eye and a gift for finding wonderful locations. And the costumes he has commissioned here from Piero Tosi, particularly those for the Colchians, are staggering. But Pasolini's script, from the ancient myth, is coyly tacit and oblique, and his editing, too, tries for the obliqueness of contemporary fiction, both elements quite contrary to the needs for large *statement* in this utterly classical story.

Another numbing contradiction is the film's language mix-up. The dialogue was obviously spoken in English, was dubbed in Italian, then subtitled in English. We see Medea's mouth say, "Come with me," we hear another voice say, "*Venga con me*," and we read the words, "Come with me" – all at the same time.

The Medea is Maria Callas, the opera star. Callas, who has large eyes and a large nose, sometimes looks up, sometimes down, sometimes left, sometimes right, and once, when she is standing on the roof of the building which she has set afire and which contains the bodies of her two sons whom she has murdered, she looks considerably upset.

Book note. Temple University Press has just published *The Film Criticism of Otis Ferguson* ($12.50). It's the policy of this journal not to review books that contain material which previously appeared in its pages, but I assume there's a statute of limitations. Otis Ferguson was the film critic of the *NR* from 1934 to 1942. (He left to join the Merchant Marine and was killed at Salerno a year later.) The bulk of this book consists of reviews and articles that he published here during those years. They are as pungent and lively as when they were first published, which was when I first read most of them – no, they have to be more alive than they were if they are *still* alive. The book is invaluable and long overdue. (I know of one publisher who declined it 12 years ago.) I'm glad that Temple did it, I just wish they had produced it better. I'd like to hear Ferguson's comments on the type-design of these pages.

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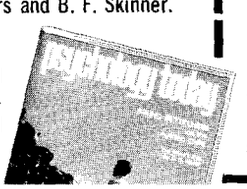

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